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BOOK I.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND: EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND: EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

WHILE the continent of Europe resounded with the din of arms during the Thirty Years' War, the British Isles also were passing through a period of storm and stress. Little affected by the general current of events on the mainland, these islands, in a bloody civil war, shaped into its final form their internal political life. This first English revolution is important from the fact that the conditions developed from it became at a later period typical for most civilized states. In it we see the birth of Parliamentary government, which, one hundred and fifty years later, was regarded as the ideal constitution for peoples everywhere.

When the house of Stuart, in the person of James I., ascended the throne of England (1603), it attempted at once to establish royal absolutism. In this effort, James I. was encouraged by the example of continental Europe, where the sovereigns were little by little destroying, or at least materially weakening, the powers of the various estates that had hemmed in and limited their authority. The new dynasty in England meant to imitate the example of the Kings of Spain and France, of Denmark and Sweden, and of the German and Italian princes. But it overlooked completely the fact that in England the situation was very different from that in the continental states. In the first place, the new reigning house was a foreign one, without roots in English soil; its traditions and memories had nothing in common with those of the English nation; it was sprung from a people that for many centuries had been at enmity with the English people and was regarded by them not only with antipathy, but even with contempt. Then in all other lands there were, even at that time, standing armies, which, supported by and pledged to obedience to the prince alone, had become the most effective tools in establishing his unlimited power.

The British Isles, on the other hand, protected by their situation from foreign attack, knew nothing of such an institution, if we except the few hundred men of the royal guards; and the monarchy thus lacked

the weapon with which to force its absolute power upon a resisting nation. The nobility, which on the continent, as a privileged class, crowded around the throne, and, with its help and under its protection, plundered the burghers and peasantry, had stood in England for five hundred years on the side of the people, into whose ranks their younger sons entered, and had, since the granting of Magna Charta, constantly regarded the interests of the people as identical with their own. Instead of being satellites of royal despotism, as their brethren on the continent, the nobles of England were the champions of national freedom against despotism. The religious reformation, which elsewhere was introduced by bloody conflicts and revolutions, had been accomplished in England slowly, gradually, and for the most part without civil strife, under the leadership of the crown itself. Thus England did not feel that inordinate craving for rest, for internal peace at any price, which in France, Belgium, and Germany drove the people into the arms of royal autoeracy. Finally, the development of social conditions in England for the last half-century had been in no wise favorable to the plans of James I. and his immediate successors.

In the long continued peace of the land, the wounds left by the Wars of the Roses had been healed. So long as the nation was impoverished and enfeebled, it had submitted without murmuring to a strong monarchy; but now commerce, manufactures, and agriculture had recovered. The city of London had become very rich, and was already the creditor of the monarch and all his foremost courtiers. Shipping had developed marvelously, and the seafaring class was as independent and as zealously Calvinistic as its employers, the merchants in the cities. Land had, in no small measure, passed out of the hands of the nobles into those of the industrious, self-respecting middle classes.

As for religion, Puritanism, notwithstanding all Elizabeth's antagonism, had become ever more widespread and confident, particularly among the merchants of the cities and the country land-owners, and soon acquired the majority in the lower house of Parliament. Repeatedly in Parliament, changes and reforms in the constitution of the church had been proposed, but those who advocated them had as often to recoil before the frown of the sovereign. They shunned a contest with Elizabeth, because in her they recognized the champion of the cause of Protestantism; but, to a king who took up a less outspoken and distinct position, a party so resolute must of necessity become dangerous. The ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown became the greatest peril of the English dynasty.

Thus the absolutist claims of James I. had little prospect of realiza-

tion ; but, having once advanced them, he felt himself bound to vindicate them. But this required a strong, self-reliant, and yet adroit policy within ; and, without, a warlike, commanding attitude toward the world. But James I. was lamentably lacking in all these requisites. The king, first of all, ought to have practiced strict economy, that he might not be under the necessity of convening Parliament and begging from it grants of money. Then he ought to have maintained the strongest standing army compatible with strict economy. Of the latter precaution, this weak prince, who dreaded and hated anything suggestive of war, did not think at all. The money voted him he squandered on his minions, so that he had constantly to have recourse anew to the representatives of the people. He also exhibited gross indiscretion in the conduct of details. Thus on every opportunity he told the members of Parliament that he did not need them ; that their liberties were dependent entirely on his good pleasure ; and that they were not to concern themselves with what he pleased to ordain. When they threatened to withhold the supplies and to impeach his ministers, he sullenly took back his words and offered up his counselors to the popular resentment that he himself had provoked.

At first he was able to preserve for himself a privilege claimed by his predecessors—that of the arbitrary imposition of duties, which was regarded as a consequence of the royal prerogative of regulating all matters pertaining to commerce. The Lower House attempted, in 1610, to do away with the new duties by law ; but the Upper House threw out the bill and maintained them for the king. But these did not suffice to fill the pockets of the monarch, and he had recourse to means hitherto unknown in England—the sale of titles of nobility. Even against their will, the richer land-owners were elevated to knighthood on their paying the price attached to the honor. The cost of the newly created dignity of baronet was one thousand pounds sterling ; for five thousand, a purchaser attained the peerage.

Such expedients tided over the emergency only for a time, and James next had recourse to one much more dangerous. So late as the last years of Elizabeth's reign, Parliament had compelled the repeal of all the commercial monopolies granted by her. Nevertheless James revived the traffic. The manufacture of gold and silver wares and of cloth, inn-keeping, and many of the leading branches of commerce were converted into monopolies. The favored few were unscrupulous enough to recoup themselves twenty-fold for their outlay, not only by raising their prices, but by supplying inferior and counterfeit articles with which the people were forced to content themselves.

Thus toward the end of James's reign the discontent rose to a dangerous height. The king's foreign policy was not calculated to allay it. England, under Elizabeth, had been the foremost Protestant power; but James uniformly favored the Catholic Spaniards, the hereditary foes of his kingdom, in their conflict with the Netherlands, and had meanly left his son-in-law, the "Winter King"—Frederick V. of the Palatinate—to his fate.

All this was very short-sighted, since, for the fight against the hated Spaniard, England would willingly have conceded him a sort of dictatorship, as it had done to his predecessor, and Parliament would have voted him unconditional supplies. But James had neither the insight nor the courage to avail himself of his opportunity, but sought through humility to propitiate the Hapsburgs and rescue his son-in-law. While Frederick was a fugitive, James was seeking the hand of a Spanish princess for his successor, Charles. This utter humiliation of the national pride of England, combined with the prospect of a strong Catholic for queen, inflamed the indignation of all classes to the utmost. The king had to prepare for unanimous resistance on the part of his Parliament.

In 1621, the House of Commons showed its discontent with the policy of the king by taking up the subject of monopolies, declaring them illegal, and impeaching the two persons most concerned in them—Sir Giles Mompesson and Francis Mitchell—before the House of Lords, a method of procedure hitherto employed but rarely and only for the gravest offences against the state. Parliament now seemed disposed to employ this weapon against all the unpopular servants of the crown. George Villiers, the king's chief favorite, who had been created Duke of Buckingham, saved himself only by drifting with the stream and declaring against monopolies. But the renowned lord chancellor, Francis Bacon, the foremost thinker of the age, was accused of having taken bribes in the court of chancery. That he did accept some gifts of money is undoubted—indeed, Bacon himself acknowledged it; but this much is to be said for him, that at that time every other high official did the same. The Upper House condemned Bacon to the loss of all his offices and to banishment from court and a fine of £40,000. The fine alone James ventured to remit; he dared not do more to shield his minister.

This incident was fraught with the gravest consequences. The Lower House had shown itself able to overthrow the highest minister of the crown—a proof of the increasing boldness and power of the Commons and the waning influence of the king. The crown had to give way more and more to prevent a conflict, and James more and more lost the respect of his subjects.

Parliament went still further. It made the granting of supplies conditional on the adoption of a decided anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic policy. Such an interference by subjects with the mysteries of diplomacy was too much for the king. He felt that his rights had been invaded and his dignity injured; he dissolved the Lower House and cast some of its members into the Tower. But this was of no avail. Need of money necessitated the re-summoning of Parliament, which now showed itself all the more incensed and inconsiderate toward the monarch. In addition to this, the emperor had completed the despoliation of James's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, and the English king learned that the Spaniards had only been fooling him with their marriage negotiations; enraged at his mistake, he broke off all further negotiations. His son Charles and his favorite Buckingham deserted him and went over to the Protestant and anti-Catholic party in England, and, supported by the great majority in Parliament, succeeded in inducing the king to adopt an anti-Catholic foreign policy. Parliament then gladly granted large supplies of money to support Count Mansfeld in the war against the emperor. The lord treasurer, the Earl of Middlesex, a man after the king's own heart, was impeached by the House of Commons and driven from office; it had become more dangerous to arouse the ill-will of Parliament than that of the king. The penalties against Catholics, mitigated by James out of regard for Spain, were again increased in severity, and the king gave assent to a bill prohibiting monopolies in any form.

All that James would have shunned had taken shape. War with Spain had become inevitable, and, what was of far higher import, Parliament, which he would have degraded into a mere money-granting machine, had vindicated for itself the predominant authority in the state. The church policy of this monarch was as absolute as his secular policy, but the evil consequences of the former were longer in coming to light. Influenced by him, the church became ever more conservative and docile to authority, so that half unconsciously it approached the character of Catholicism. Many usages, abolished by the first reformers, were restored; statues and pictures began to reappear in the churches.

But this transition to what the English people regarded as idolatry necessarily called forth resistance. Up to this time, the Puritans had never had doubts of their ultimate reconciliation with the Anglican or Established church; they now began to regard the Anglicans as their enemies. They regarded themselves as the successors of the chosen people, called by God to maintain the purity of the faith and execute His judgments on His enemies. And this intolerant, fanatical party,

by reason of the Catholicising tendencies of Anglicanism, grew in strength from day to day.

Such was the situation when James died on March 27, 1625: the representatives of the people resolute and confident of winning the supremacy; the court equally resolved to perpetuate the arbitrary rule of the Tudors; the Anglican church monarchical and conservative; Puritanism thoroughly democratic and on the side of Parliament.

To reconcile elements so conflicting was a task all but impossible, yet it was to this that the new king, only twenty-four years old, was called. Charles I. (PLATE I.) had none of those personal characteristics that made his father an object of contempt and aversion. He was of graceful, slender figure, with fine features, and open, brown eyes. His bearing was dignified, his life morally stainless. He spoke seldom and little, but always with propriety and dignity. He was frugal without being niggardly, punctual in his transactions, but with a will as fixed and strong as that of his father. His accession was universally hailed with joy.

But fatal failings marred the character of the young monarch, especially an entire, almost naïve, untrustworthiness in word and deed, and a self-will that asserted itself stubbornly, unscrupulously, and without regard to consequences. These defects Buckingham knew how to flatter and make use of, and thus this frivolous, dissipated prodigal won the favor of a prince so opposite in character to himself. From the outset, Charles's position was no easy one, threatened as it was with difficulties from two quarters. First, there was the war with Spain, to which Parliament had compelled his father, and which was carried on with profitless expenditure of English blood and gold; secondly, there was his own earlier leaning toward the popular party, to which he had shown favor as against the vacillating policy of his father. The former condition made him immediately dependent on Parliament for money-grants; the second induced this body to expect from him easy assent to their claims—a fatal misapprehension, for, at bottom, Charles, like his father, clung to the doctrine of sovereignty by divine right, but had a firmer will to enforce his convictions.

He forthwith summoned Parliament and demanded supplies for carrying out a policy which it had itself counseled. This body was ready enough to support the king in the war against Spain, but only under a pledge that the money should be devoted to the object for which it was granted. This guarantee it believed could only be given by the preliminary redress of all its grievances and the summoning to the council of state of capable men of Protestant and popular sentiments. Among these,

PLATE I.



Charles I., King of England.

From an engraving by Robert Strange (1721-1792); original painting by Vandyke (1590-1641).

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII, page 24

Buckingham could not be numbered. The distrust was heightened by Charles's marriage with a Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII., and by the favors which he showed to the Catholics in England in order to please her. Parliament showed its distrust by voting a money-grant which was altogether inadequate, and limited to one year tonnage and poundage, a duty on imports which had been granted to former kings for their lifetime.

Charles, in chagrin, took the perilous step of dissolving Parliament and summoning a new one. The people elected practically their old representatives, who were resolved to insist on their former claims for a redress of grievances. Matters were made worse by the total shipwreck of the foreign policy of Charles and Buckingham. Richelieu had at this time come to an understanding with Spain and turned his arms against the Huguenots, the co-religionists of the vast majority of the English people. An English attempt on Cadiz entirely failed. It seemed as if England were drifting into a war with both France and Spain at the same time, and that, too, without men of capacity in its administration, army, or fleet.

What could be foreseen occurred. The government, although having had recourse to many illegitimate expedients for raising money, had soon to apply for more money to Parliament, which forthwith exclaimed bitterly against Charles's extortions and the levying of tonnage and poundage after the end of the first year. Regarding Buckingham as largely responsible for the bad administration, the House of Commons resolved to impeach him before the Lords (May, 1626). The duke was undoubtedly a frivolous man and an improper minister, but there was no evidence of treason against him. At the head of the opposition stood John Eliot (Fig. 1), a true and noble patriot, who was persuaded that the weal of the state demanded the transference of real political power from the king's favorites to the House of Commons.

Charles I. would not let the same fate that had befallen Bacon and Middlesex overtake his friend Buckingham. To save Buckingham, he caused him, while under impeachment, to be named chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and sent Eliot and another member to the Tower. As the Commons, notwithstanding this, persevered in their attacks, he dissolved his second Parliament in June, 1626, and imprisoned or deprived of their offices several of the members of the opposition who had been most active against Buckingham.

Charles had now to resort to violent measures to obtain, without the consent of Parliament, the money necessary for the relief of La Rochelle, and therefore ordered a heavy forced loan. Whoever did not advance

the sum demanded from him was thrown into prison, enrolled in the army or fleet, or sent on some vexatious and ruinous mission to foreign parts. In a time of profound peace, martial law was proclaimed, and the soldiery, in utter violation of the law, were quartered on the citizens. The seaports had to furnish ships and crews. Judges who withstood such illegal measures were summarily deposed. A glorious victory won



FIG. 1.—John Eliot. From an engraving by William Holl (1807-1871).

for the cause of the French Protestants would scarcely have sufficed to appease the resentment of the people. The cause of the king and Buckingham depended on a victory for the Huguenots. Instead of this, there came the disastrous and humiliating defeat at the isle of Ré, in November, 1627.

Never had such disgrace befallen the arms of England since the loss of Calais, in 1558. The people were one in regarding Buckingham and his friends as the cause of the disaster and as deliberate traitors to their country. The opposition to the forced loan grew louder and louder. Had Charles been accessible to the warnings of reason, he would either have sacrificed Buckingham or have submitted temporarily to the constitutional demands of Parliament. On the contrary, he decided to call another Parliament, but, in other respects, to change his course as little as possible.

His third Parliament met in March, 1628. The leaders of the patriots resolved to treat no longer with Buckingham, but with the king himself, and to compel him to submit and to recognize the traditional rights of the people which he had violated. With this view, the Lower House laid down the rule that the redress of grievances must precede any grant of supplies. A fierce controversy between the two powers ensued. At length the Commons, on the motion of the great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, framed the famous "Petition of Right." It forbade forced loans, illegal imprisonment without a judicial warrant, and the quartering of soldiers upon the people in time of peace.

After some hesitation, the Lords concurred in the Petition. But Charles long scrupled about giving it his assent, for this course would be an acknowledgment of his own defeat. But the news of a second English defeat at La Rochelle, and the capitulation of the English garrison of Stade to Tilly, forced Charles, in June, 1628, to give his assent to the Petition. Endless rejoicing resounded through both houses, through London, and through all England. What would the people have thought, had they known that Charles, before giving his assent to the Petition of Right, had secretly consulted the judges and had been assured by them that, notwithstanding this new law, he still retained his discretionary power for extraordinary occasions?

When Charles had given his assent to their petition, the House of Commons at once voted him money, and Charles, on his part, for a time refrained from threats. Then some new difficulties arose, and Parliament was prorogued indefinitely.

Two months later (August 23, 1628), Buckingham was assassinated by Felton, a Puritan fanatic, who hoped thus to rid religion, the kingdom, and the people of their worst foe, and who cheerfully met death for his deed. But it soon appeared that Buckingham had been led by Charles, rather than Charles by him. The king pursued his own way unswervingly. Tonnage and poundage were more rigorously collected than ever, and the Star Chamber exercised its power more and more

arbitrarily. Moreover, Charles won over one of the most gifted of his moderate Parliamentary opponents, Sir Thomas Wentworth; but the principles at stake were too great for any one man's influence to be of avail. And now came tidings of the final surrender of the heroic La Rochelle to its Catholic oppressors.

Parliament assembled for its second session, January, 1629, in the worst temper. It was incensed at the undeniable duplicity of the king in regard to the Petition of Right, which he had already violated. He demanded of Parliament the concession of the tonnage and poundage duties, thus acknowledging that he received them only through the free will of the people, although he had been raising them uninterruptedly since 1626, when the first year's grant by Parliament had expired. The opposition now began to prepare a remonstrance against such procedure; but, before it could be properly formulated, the king sent an order dissolving Parliament. The door of the house was shut in his messenger's face. Not till the body-guard came to force an entrance did the members separate, and even then not until they had completed their remonstrance (March 2, 1629).

The breach between the ruler and the representatives of the people was now complete and could be healed only by the submission of one of the parties. Charles did not realize the gravity of the situation. For four years he had attempted to rule in conjunction with Parliament, but had not succeeded. Now he would make the experiment of uncontrolled rule. He could have recourse to Parliament, he thought, if worst came to worst. He was in no wise resolved never to summon another, but, for a while, it was much easier to manage without it. As he was willing to abstain from all warlike undertakings, he expected to be able to raise money enough for current expenses without Parliamentary grants. In reference to the reproach that he was thus violating the Petition of Right, to which he had assented, he justified himself by pointing to the exigencies of the situation, the indefeasible divine right of kings, and the practice of his predecessors.

Considering the English people's strong love of liberty, it would scarcely have been possible even for a vigorous, consistent, and able ruler to carry out an absolutist programme. But Charles was without penetration and foresight in projecting schemes or calculating their consequences. His most trusted minister, Richard Weston, afterward Earl of Portland, a short-sighted politician, was timid, and, furthermore, was indisposed to an energetic foreign policy because of the economy enforced on him. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had formerly sided with the patriots in the impeachment of Buckingham, had lost his sympathy with them

when they tried to limit the king's prerogatives by the Petition of Right, and had gone over to the king's party. The king had appointed him lord deputy, later lord lieutenant, of Ireland, where he ruled with severity in the interest of order and the authority of the crown.

In accordance with his stern, unrelenting character, Charles's first act after the dissolution of Parliament in March, 1629, was to throw John Eliot and eight other members of the House of Commons into prison, and deny them a fair and speedy trial. Eliot died in prison; the rest, after long imprisonment, were condemned to pay heavy fines.

Religious intolerance went hand in hand with political oppression. In William Laud, Bishop of London, a narrow-minded bigot, who aimed only at unity, order, and subordination in the church, Charles I. found a man after his own heart. To such a man as Laud, the Catholic system, as distinguished from its creed, in virtue of its dogma of unconditional obedience, was the ideal form of church government. But it must be remembered that not one-twentieth of the population of England at that period were Catholics and that to the other nineteen-twentieths the papacy was Antichrist. In spite of this, Laud, under the auspices of the crown, began at once to persecute the Puritans, and labored to introduce the orderly obedience, elaborateness of forms, and uniformity of the Catholic church into the English Established state church.

There is nothing more dangerous than to attack at the same time the religious and the political convictions of a nation. But this is what Charles I. and Laud were doing.

Different as were the natures of Laud (Fig. 2) and Wentworth, a common aim—namely, that of subjecting the nation, politically and religiously, to the absolute dictatorship of the monarch—united them in closest friendship. Wentworth had a clear idea of the means which, in his opinion, ought to be adopted to strengthen the crown and promote the welfare of the country. Extraordinary tribunals must be erected for the decision of all matters affecting state policy and revenue, with arbitrary powers of inflicting severe punishment on any show of resistance. A strong standing army must be created to nip rebellions in the bud and to enforce the commands of the crown. On the other hand, nothing should be done to provoke the people needlessly; commerce and industry should be fostered, and moderate taxes only imposed. Wentworth's system was complete, consistent, and ingenious; but, for that very reason, without prospect of being carried out by Charles. Instead of making him his prime minister, Charles had sent him to administer Ireland.

Charles I. took pleasure in the splendors and delights of an extrav-

agant life. His court was the resort of the foremost artists and scholars of Europe, nearly all of whom were foreigners who had neither sympathy nor intercourse with the people of England. Rubens was here a welcome guest. Van Dyck was the richly rewarded court painter of the



FIG. 2. Archbishop William Laud. From the drawing by J. Watson after the painting by Van Dyck (1599-1641).

royal family. Ben Jonson regaled the courtiers with his masques. Inigo Jones delighted all by his magnificent edifices. The volatile and light-hearted queen, Henrietta Maria, entered into the brilliant life of the court with all her heart (Fig. 3).

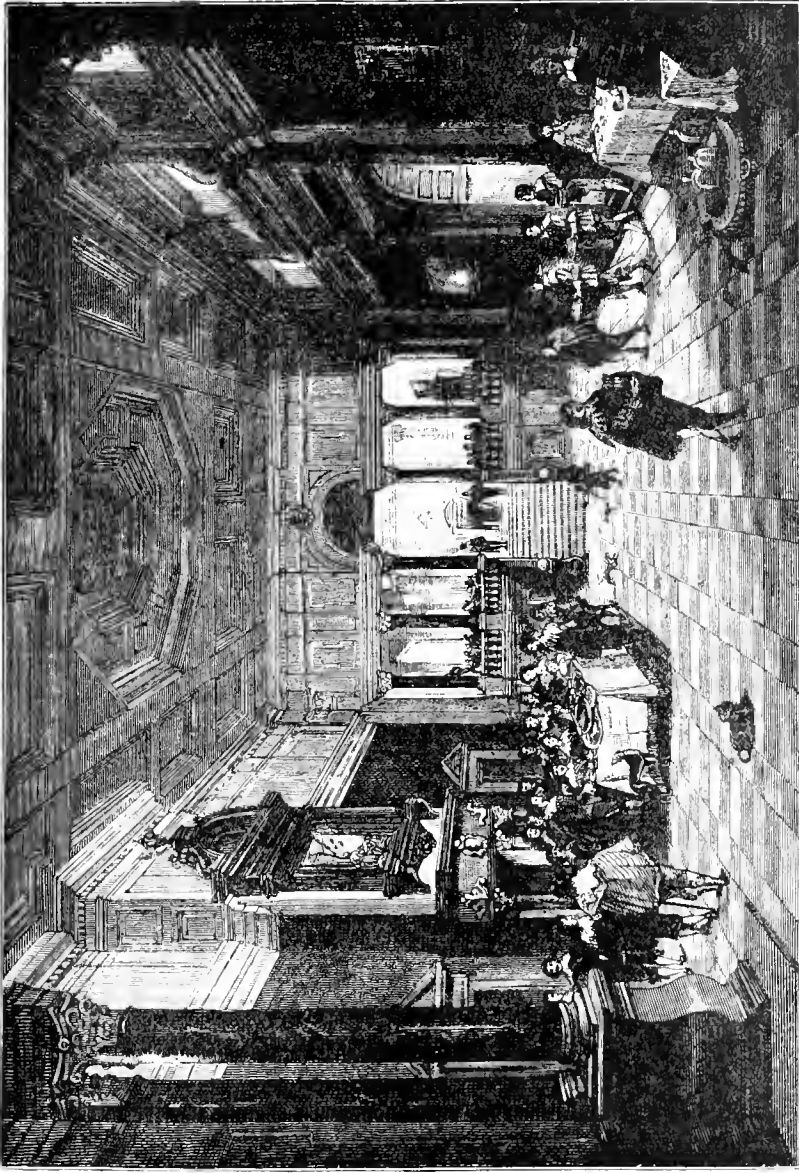


FIG. 3.—Charles I. and his queen at dinner. From the engraving by W. Greatbach, after the painting by Bartholomæus van Bassen (1613-1640).

Meanwhile the king relieved his necessities by collecting tonnage and poundage again and by exacting new thousands from his wealthier subjects in the form of fines for not accepting the costly dignity of knighthood.

There now died in close succession the moderate Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury, the primate of all England, and the leading minister, the Earl of Portland, who together had to a certain extent been successful in preventing the king from taking too violent measures in church and state. Laud succeeded to both offices. As primate he now saw the church of England at his feet, and proceeded to exercise his power with unheard-of rigor. What was expected from him is best shown by the fact that Rome more than once offered him the cardinal's hat if he would declare openly for the pope. The king submitted blindly to his leading, and placed at his disposal all his authority, legitimate and usurped. To the inexpressible horror of all sincere Protestants, the communion table was at once converted into an altar. The sees were filled with Laud's creatures, some of them more than suspected of Romanism. The ecclesiastical court of high commission imposed heavy money-fines on all laymen and deposed all clergymen who held to Puritanism. Prynne, an eminent barrister and a rigid but vehement Puritan, had published a book against the theatre, and had therein indulged in some bitter innuendoes against the queen,¹ who took part in private theatricals. For this he was sentenced by the Star Chamber to pay a fine of £5000, to degradation from the bar and expulsion from Oxford, and to the loss of both his ears in the pillory—a punishment altogether unjustifiable and barbarous, even for the coarse temper of that age, and one that provoked condemnation even from the friends of the king.

As successor to Portland, Laud was head of the commissions for the treasury and foreign affairs, and, in accord with his Catholic tendencies, showed himself thoroughly hostile to the Swedish operations in Germany, besides concluding a treaty with Spain for the partition of the Dutch republic. To raise money for the latter undertaking, Charles had recourse to a new and unfortunate act of despotism. In earlier times, in cases of danger by sea, the maritime towns had been under obligations to furnish ships. This obsolete burden was revived in the autumn of 1634, and commuted into a money-contribution under the name of ship-money. The sum raised from the maritime towns was inadequate for any effective operation. Therefore in August, 1635, the king declared that, since the fleet was for the defence of all in the kingdom, all should contribute equally toward ship-money. From the form of the writ, it was evident that this impost, formerly voluntary and temporary, but now arbitrary, was meant to be permanent. The fundamental principle of the English constitution, that no new tax can be imposed without the consent of the people's representatives, was thus violated. Individual attempts at resistance were suppressed by the judges and sheriffs. The judges,

indeed, openly announced that the king's authority was superior to that of Parliament.

Meanwhile Laud had been trying to place every Protestant com-



FIG. 4.—Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. From a contemporary anonymous drawing, after the painting by Van Dyck.

munion table in England "altarwise" as in the Catholic churches, and the majority of the nation did not doubt that his real purpose was to carry them over to Catholicism. Clergymen who did not conform to the

innovation were sent to prison for a year. Laud gained his end, but his victory was a fatal one. Every sincere Protestant was driven into the ranks of the opposition, where all true lovers of freedom and constitutional law were found. Nor were the fears of the Protestants that Catholicism might be restored groundless. On Charles's invitation, an emissary of Pope Urban VIII. came secretly to London, and there treated about the reconciliation of England with Rome, which in return would lend the king aid in subduing the malcontents in his own land and in winning back the Palatinate for his brother-in-law. A bishop, who stood very close to Laud, boasted that in his diocese no pastor dared to open his lips against the pope. Though the Puritans were sorely persecuted, the Catholics were allowed to celebrate their services in open defiance of the law against persons who did not conform to the Anglican church. Numerous persons of rank passed over to Catholicism. The queen (PLATE II.), who in many respects had exercised the worst influence on her husband, professed herself, without reserve, the champion of Rome.

The anti-Catholic excitement among the whole people became so general and menacing that Charles, in some measure appalled, turned, in February, 1637, to Wentworth, who, true to his motto, "thorough and through," had meanwhile been exercising in Ireland a rule severe and universally feared, but intended to benefit as greatly as possible the royal interests. He reorganized the finances, collected a treasure-fund, and by force re-established order and obedience in the turbulent island. He had, besides, fostered and promoted industry and commerce. A similar enlightened and benevolent despotism was his scheme for England; but he did not realize that what might be successful among the Irish clans was not suitable in a compact, freedom-loving nation. The king was charmed with Wentworth's methods, and, summoning him to London, made him his principal counselor, creating him Earl of Strafford (Fig. 1). But, with the obstinate and unreasoning Charles I., even Strafford could effect nothing. And, precisely at this time, events occurred that finally shook the confidence of the people in the power of the law, and inspired a large section of them with the conviction that, since law availed nothing to protect them, they were no longer bound to regard it.

There lived in Buckinghamshire a landed proprietor by the name of John Hampden (Fig. 5), a man universally respected on account of his ability and moderation, who had refused on principle to pay the ship-money on the ground of its illegality. He was imprisoned; when he asked to be brought before the court, eight of the twelve judges sided with the king. Thus the men who above all others were called on to

PLATE II.



Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. of England.

From an engraving by Peter de Jode 1570-1631; original painting by Vandyke (1599-1641).

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII, page 34.

maintain the laws of the land now openly declared that, all enactments to the contrary notwithstanding, the king had authority to impose new taxes without the assent of Parliament! Indignation was aroused everywhere, and the leaders of the opposition began to meet and take counsel with each other in regard to forcible resistance. The signal for this came, however, from without.

Common sense might have withheld Charles from attempting too



FIG. 5.—John Hampden. From a portrait in possession of the Earl of St. Germans, at Port Eliot.

much at once, and induced him not to try to impose his absolute political and spiritual sway on Scotland until he had completed the subjection of England. His forefathers on the Scottish throne had had sufficient experience of the irritability of the people of Scotland and their readiness to strike. Probably Charles thought that with the five times greater power of England it would be easy to reduce the Scots to obedience, but just for this reason he ought to have waited till he could make this force

available. This was the counsel given him by Strafford. But Charles was not the man to calculate the means and the probabilities of success.

The Scots clung with devotion to their Calvinistic faith, democratic institutions, and simple Presbyterian form of worship. James I. had, indeed, introduced an episcopal hierarchy into Scotland, but simply as a matter of form. The bishops had precedence in rank, but no effective power. But Charles and Laud now proceeded to change all this. The Scottish sees were filled with Englishmen, and these were clothed with secular power to enforce their fiat. At last, in 1636, a new book of church discipline was published by Laud in Scotland, enacting royal supremacy under which the bishops enjoyed the sole legislative and disciplinary power in the church; and a liturgy and style of vestments, even more suggestive of popery than those of England, were prescribed.

Charles believed that he was sure of victory, for the weak and venal Scottish Parliament was subservient to him. Nevertheless, when divine service was being celebrated in St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh, according to the new rites prescribed by Laud, the famous Jenny Geddes riot broke out; the clergy were assailed with shouts of "Antichrist," "priests of Baal," and stools and Bibles were hurled from the pews at their heads (July 23, 1637). The movement soon gained such headway among all classes that the authorities had to suspend the book of discipline.

These events were of the weightiest import. The king, practically without resources, had hitherto been able to carry out his purposes only because no one had ventured on open resistance. But now that resistance on such a large scale had shown itself in Scotland, and gone unpunished, the whole work of eight years was annihilated.

The despot was incensed in the highest degree. Charles forbade, on penalty of high treason, all opposition to the liturgy or even any petition against it. But the Scots did not let this dismay them. They organized themselves for conflict, and brought forth and signed an old agreement or "Covenant," by which the nation pledged itself to maintain the Protestant religion and the liberty and laws of the land (March, 1638). With marvelous rapidity the movement spread through the dales and glens of Scotland, embracing all classes of society, young and old alike. An army was assembled, and the hated episcopacy with all its forms, in defiance of the threats of the king, was abolished.

If Charles had wished to save the cause of absolutism, he ought without delay to have begun the suppression of the Covenant. It would have been easy for him at least to check its progress and occupy Edinburgh, for with his army of 23,000 men he was far superior in strength to the undisciplined bands of the Scots. A rapid march to the

borders and one energetic blow struck at the insurgents might have decided all. Instead of this, he advanced slowly toward the north, as in a triumphant procession, summoning the nobles to his standard. He then lay inactive on the borders, confronting the Scots, whose courage and numbers increased daily, while disaffection, bitter criticism, and despondency spread through the English camp. Charles's own representative in Scotland, the sly and supple Duke of Hamilton, assumed an equivocal attitude, and a counter-covenant that Charles attempted to institute in Scotland proved an utter failure.

Emboldened by all this, the Scottish Parliament set at defiance the royal order to dissolve on pain of being condemned as traitors. Worst of all, Charles's money was exhausted, and he could no longer keep his army together. Necessity compelled him to open negotiations with the "shameless rebels," which led to the Pacification of Berwick (January, 1639). In consideration of the promise of the Scots to remain loyal subjects, Charles consented that their own Parliament and General Assembly of the church should regulate all the internal affairs of the land. The armies on both sides were to be disbanded. This issue of the "First Bishops' War," so called because it was to decide whether Laud's bishops should continue in Scotland, was fatal for Charles. By giving way, he had shown that any concession could be extorted from him by defiance, and that he was stern and arrogant only so long as men submitted to him. This encouraged the party in England who wished to resist Charles's political and religious innovations with force.

It was Charles's great fault that he always strove to make up for his defeats through faithlessness. At once he began to play false with the Scots and to disregard the Pacification of Berwick. This only resulted in embittering the Scots still further. Their Parliament and General Assembly insulted him purposely and began to exercise greater and greater rights, and even entered into an alliance with France, the enemy of England. The discovery of this last fact determined the king to try another passage-at-arms with the traitors. Strafford was of the same mind. But money was requisite, and to exact this illegally was, in the present temper of the English people, altogether too dangerous. Strafford therefore counseled the summoning of another Parliament, and he took it as a good omen that his well-disciplined Irish Parliament voted a subsidy adequate for 8000 soldiers. He knew well that the existence of a strong monarchy, his own power, and perhaps his life, hung on the issue.

Parliament met on April 13, 1640. Neither Strafford nor Charles recognized that the mere fact of the re-assembling of Parliament after an interval of eleven years demonstrated the defeat of the king in Eng-

land also. The point was no longer the preservation of monarchical absolutism, but the securing of a reconciliation with the representatives of the people on the most favorable terms possible. And Charles might easily have fared better than he deserved, for England, weary of strife with its king, bitterly hating the Scots, and doubly incensed by their alliance with France, had, along with a few decided opponents of the king, sent for the most part men of moderate views to the Lower House.

But even these latter were surprised by the bearing and language of the king. They were ready to vote supplies, but hand in hand with this there must go an examination into and the redress of the abuses that had grown up during the last fifteen years. Charles, however, was beside himself with rage that the house should not at once and unconditionally vote him abundant means for the subjugation of the Scots. Therefore, in spite of Strafford's warnings, he dissolved this "Short Parliament," which had been in session for twenty days.

How great the king's blindness had been, in not being more reasonable and conciliatory toward Parliament, was proved by the jubilations of the violent members of the opposition. They expressed without reserve their lively satisfaction that a Parliament from which no decisive measures were to be expected had been got rid of. It will soon be seen that they were more clear-sighted than Charles.

All the arts of tyranny were again tried. Voluntary contributions from the nobles and clergy brought £300,000 into the treasury. This had to be supplemented by forced loans, monopolies, and ship-money. The most disaffected members of Parliament were thrown into the Tower. But the awe of royalty had vanished; insubordination filled the land. In London, there were fierce tumults and bloodshed. The English malcontents invited the Scottish army to cross the border, and on August 21, 1640, this host set foot on English soil. The English troops withdrew before them.

Notwithstanding all the contributions of the royalists, the king was soon again in want of money. His desperate attempts to win support from Spain and the pope were utterly fruitless. Even the Irish would no longer pay taxes. Northern England openly showed its sympathy with the Scotch invaders. Strafford, who had himself assumed the command, had to retreat to York with his discontented and demoralized army. The nobility and city of London earnestly urged the king to summon a new Parliament.

Charles felt compelled to summon Parliament. Immediately thereupon he received advances from the city sufficient to enable him to purchase from the Scots (October, 1640) the disgraceful Treaty of Ripon,

in which they promised not to advance on condition that in the meantime Charles should provide for the support of their army.

On November 3, 1640, the "Long Parliament" came together. Three-fifths of the representatives had been members of the Short Parliament; the remaining two-fifths constituted almost exclusively a reinforcement for the extreme opposition, which was resolved to secure for all time the subjection of monarchical power to that of the people, and was bent on carrying out its purposes to their extreme consequences. Men like Pym, St. John, and Holles saw themselves now at the goal of their aspirations; and men like Hampden, formerly moderate, had passed over to their opinions. Dread of Catholicism allied itself with dread of despotism.

The procedure of the majority of the Commons was a model of revolutionary tactics. Guarantees were first secured that the old abuses should not recur. Parliament should be summoned every three years, and, on the king's failure to call it together, the sheriffs of the counties should do so. The levying of ship-money and of import and export duties without consent of Parliament was declared unconstitutional. The Star Chamber and the court of high commission were abolished, as well as arbitrary levies for military service. To all these bills, carried almost unanimously in both houses, the king had to give his assent. The instruments of despotism were thus destroyed.

But even this did not satisfy the majority of the Lower House. They resolved also to punish the personal tools of tyranny, and constituted forty committees before which everyone should bring his grievances. Day after day, hundreds of countryfolk and citizens crowded around the doors of Parliament, in order to lay the complaints of their districts before one or other of the committees. Everyone concerned in executing the tyrannical measures of the last fifteen years was marked as a "delinquent," lists of such being prepared in the counties and their punishment held in abeyance. Terror seized on all the officials of the king, secular and spiritual.

Above all, the aim was to strike at Strafford, the most eminent and most dangerous of all the royal advisers. The Lower House decided to impeach him for high treason before the Lords. The earl was of good courage, for the king had pledged his honor that not a hair of his head should be touched. Besides, Strafford defended himself with such dignity and effect that his acquittal by the peers was supposed to be beyond doubt. But the extreme party in the Commons had made up their minds to satisfy their vengeance and rob the king of his one reliable minister. They passed through their own house, therefore, a bill of attainder

against him, a more summary measure than impeachment. The protracted reluctance of the peers to assent to the bill only heightened the excitement throughout the country.

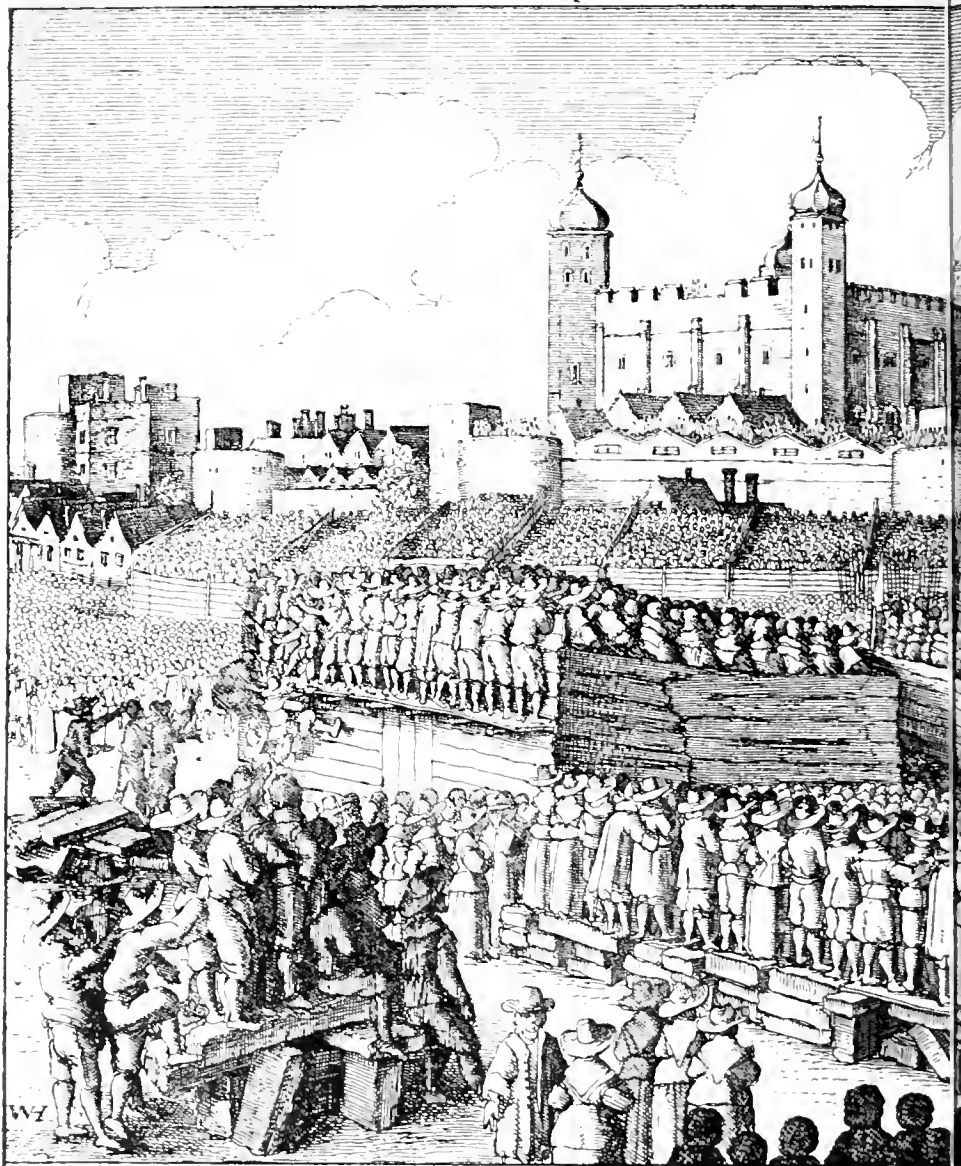
Charles neither understood how to reconcile himself with Parliament, nor openly to disarm it by freely conceding what could not be refused. Dread of revolution at length induced the Lords to pass the bill of attainder by a majority of seven. If Charles had not been thoroughly selfish, he would have staked his crown on the redemption of his word and the rescue of his devoted servant; but he finally gave his assent to the bill, and, on May 12, 1641, Strafford, with dignity, met death on the scaffold (PLATE III.). "Put not your trust in princes," he had exclaimed as he made ready for death. On the way to the place of execution, he was blessed by Laud from the window of the prison into which the archbishop had been thrown.

Charles acceded to all that was required of him, and Parliament was able to adjourn. He himself went to Scotland, where he was successful in pacifying the people through liberal concessions. But it was no longer the old Parliament that reassembled in Westminster in the autumn of 1641. A deep split had taken place in the hitherto united House of Commons. The more moderate party believed that enough had been done for freedom, and sympathy for the king made itself felt. The extreme party, on the other hand, would be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of monarchy and the episcopal church. On the side of the moderate party were found the great majority of the high nobles and the leading landed gentry. Opposed to these stood the business and working classes in the towns, and the smaller proprietors or yeomen in the country. In these divisions, we see the origin of the Whig and Tory, or Liberal and Conservative, parties in England.

Various circumstances combined to aggravate the temper of the radical party. They saw that they were gradually losing their hold on public opinion, even in London, where a royalist was elected lord mayor. Charles had learned in Scotland that it was the heads of the radical party who induced the Scots to invade England, and he awaited only a favorable opportunity to impeach them of high treason. On the other hand, there broke out in Ireland a wild insurrection of the Catholic Celts against the Protestant English settlers, in which at least 12,000 of the latter were slaughtered and the remainder hounded forth. Men believed that Charles had incited this rising to induce his friends, the papists, to come to his help in England.

The extreme party resolved to give a new turn to the situation by one bold and startling stroke, and in November, 1641, brought forward

THE TRUE MANER OF THE EXECUTION
Lieutenant of Ireland vpon Tower-hill, the



Execution des Grafen Thoma von Stafford Statthal

A. Doct. Usher Primas in Irland.

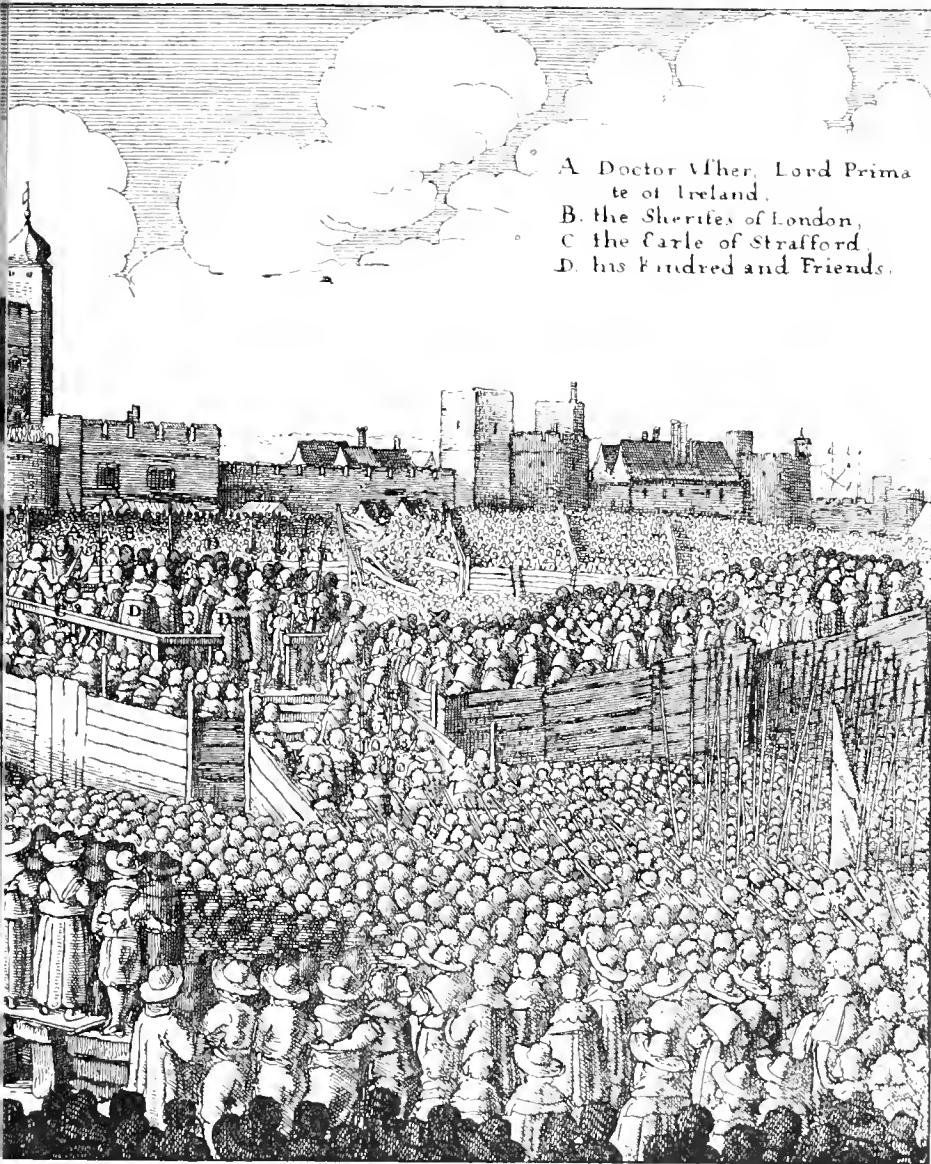
B. Rahts Herzen von London.

C. Der Graf

D. Seine anve

Execution of the
Facsimile of the engraving

OF THOMAS EARLE OF STRAFFORD, LORD
of May. 1641



in Irland auf dē Tawers plak in Londen 12 Maj 1641.
in Stafford.
vanten vnd freunde

Earl of Strafford.

Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677).

in the Lower House the "Grand Remonstrance." It comprised an enumeration of all the king's transgressions painted in the blackest colors, as well as of the brilliant services of the present Parliament, and concluded with three demands: namely, the appointment of only such counselors as possessed the full confidence of the people's representatives, the restriction, through juries, of the power of the executive officers of the public courts of justice, and the abolition of the episcopal form of church government in favor of Presbyterianism.

The Remonstrance was carried in the Commons by only 159 votes against 148. The minority protested bitterly, and swords were almost used in the house. The king declined to answer the Remonstrance when it was laid before him, though apparently willing to institute a sort of Parliamentary administration. In December, 1641, he called the leaders of the moderate liberal party to his councils: from the Lower House, Hyde, Sir John Colepeper, and Lord Falkland; and Lord Digby from the Upper House. With the view of winning Pym, he even offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer, but this most popular of all the radicals declined it. Supported by a strong minority in the Commons, by the majority of the Lords, and by the bishops of the Anglican church, to which the overwhelming majority of the English people belonged, Charles believed that he could sustain himself.

Meanwhile the leaders of the majority in the Commons, emboldened by the armed demonstrations of the London populace, went forward with confidence, and had the Remonstrance printed. The bishops were prevented by a street mob from taking their seats in the House of Lords. The Commons then submitted to the king a draft of a law for depriving him of the command of the militia and transferring it to Parliament. In the country, the people became more and more wearied of such forcible encroachments on the king's authority, and Charles, incensed at the audacity of his opponents, unfortunately decided to try a political *coup de main*.

His decision was indiscreet in the extreme, and threatened to turn many friends into foes. Even for the instant, it could be successful only with preparation and secrecy; whereas, in reality, it was carried out with Charles's usual maladroitness. In defiance of precedent and the constitution to which he had sworn, he impeached not only a lord, but five members of the House of Commons (among them Pym, Hampden, and Holles), of high treason. Both houses resolved (January 3, 1642) to test the constitutionality of the proceeding. Then the king decided to take the unprecedented step of going in person to the House of Commons, in order to seize the five impeached members. But he hesitated

so long that the five had time to escape and find a secure hiding-place in the city. Therefore, when he actually appeared in the house (January 4), he looked awkwardly around, but saw that "his birds had flown;" then, as he withdrew in confusion, there resounded after him from all parts of the house the angry cry of "Privilege! Privilege!" The city refused to deliver up the arraigned men, while the crowds shouted around him "Privilege of Parliament!" The House of Commons, for greater security, transferred its sittings into the city, and, denouncing the king's procedure as "false, scandalous, and unconstitutional," appealed to the citizens for protection. Thus did the Commons take up the gauntlet thrown down by the king. The provocation had come from the king; now the declaration of war came from Parliament.

Charles soon saw himself practically isolated in his palace at Whitehall. So indiscreet was he that he did not even secure the Tower of London for himself (Fig. 6), but allowed the Commons to place there as governor a man of their own choice, Major Skippon. The city stood armed, and out of its militia or "train-bands" Parliament formed regular regiments, with Skippon as major-general at their head. Under the protection of citizens and sailors, the five members were conveyed back to the hall of meeting. On January 10, 1642, the king left London, having sent his wife and children on ahead to Holland. By the king's departure from his capital, the war between the crown and Parliament was declared.

The king betook himself to the north, where the royalist party was stronger. Over the kingdom generally, the extreme and inconsiderate conduct of the Parliamentary majority, as well as the intolerance of the Puritans, evoked ever increasing disapproval. Many members of the minority of the House of Commons and the majority of the House of Lords betook themselves to the king at York. Had he only taken up a firm and legal position in opposition to the encroachments of the extremists among the Commons, he would have had the overwhelming majority of the country at his service. But his preparations went slowly forward; he was without money, and his adherents, the Cavaliers, showed for a time little disposition for self-sacrifice.

Parliament, on the other hand, now solidly united since the departure of the moderates and royalists, and supported by the money-power of the greater cities, was able to act with much greater promptness and energy. A "committee of public safety," consisting of five peers and ten commoners, was intrusted with the executive power. An army of 20,000 men was levied and placed under the command of the most zealous members of both houses. Besides Hampden and Holles, we find among these

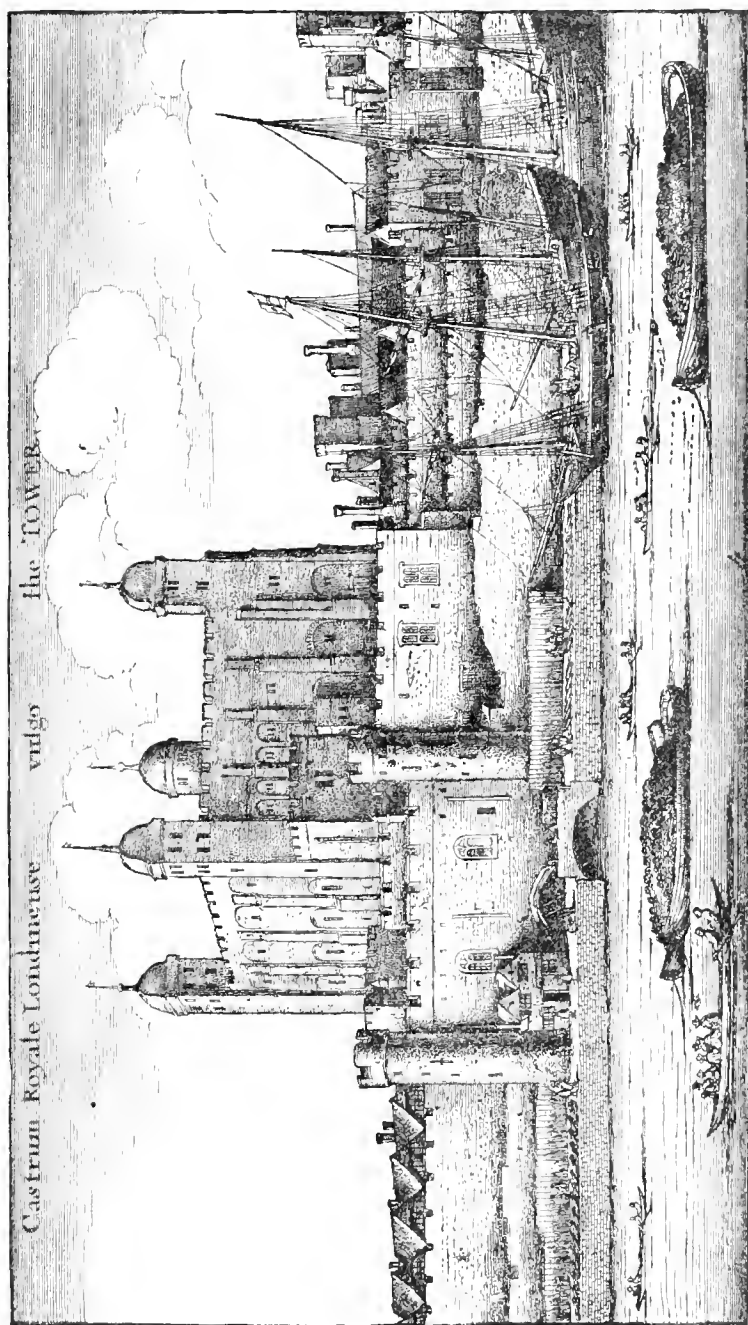


FIG. 6.—The Tower of London in the seventeenth century. Engraving by Wenzel Hollar (1697-1677).

commanders a Captain Cromwell, still a young man, who was not only remarkable for his rudeness of manners and speech, but also for his daring and his strength of character.

The chief command of the Parliamentary troops or "Roundheads," as they were called, because their hair was cut short instead of being long like that of the courtiers, was conferred on the Earl of Essex, a very popular man, but of little real ability. He gave Charles time to rally about him an army 12,000 strong, with able generals at its head. Among the latter was Prince Rupert of the Palatinate, the king's nephew, and younger son of the unfortunate King of Bohemia, now only twenty-three years of age, but soon to prove himself on many English fields the most daring among all the Cavaliers. With this force, Charles, in the autumn of 1642, pressed right on to the walls of London, where he fought an indecisive battle with the more numerous army of Parliament.

But in this engagement it was evident that the material of Charles's army was far superior to that of Parliament. The country gentlemen and university students on his side were men of culture and of hereditary honor and courage. The apprentices, and even the tenant-farmers and freeholders, among their enemies, were men of low degree and dependent positions and scarcely knew how to use their weapons. But the disadvantages in the personnel of the Parliamentary army were counterbalanced by the advantage which it possessed of being master of the rich and populous southern, eastern, and middle counties.

Both parties conducted themselves toward each other with great moderation. It is a credit to the English of the period that, notwithstanding the long continuance of the struggle, none of those atrocities that blackened the civil wars of other nations took place in England. Prisoners were generally admitted to parole on pledging themselves not to serve again in the war.

The campaign of 1643 opened most favorably for the royalists, who were commanded by the daring and enterprising Lord Ruthven, in place of the circumspect Lindsay. In a skirmish in June, Hampden was killed; he was as dauntless in the field as before a court of justice or in Parliament, and his loss was a great sorrow to his friends and his party. The queen returned to England with an abundant supply of money, experienced officers, and 3000 men trained in the wars of Holland. One town after another, including Bristol, the second city of the kingdom, fell into the hands of the Cavaliers.

The position of the more extreme party in Parliament became dangerous. The Upper House demanded peace with the king. Only by surprise and intrigue could his opponents compass the rejection of this

motion in the lower house. Street-tumults in favor of reconciliation could only be repressed by the shedding of blood. More of the nobles left London, and either betook themselves to their estates or to the king. But danger only quickened the enthusiasm of the war-party. Volunteers streamed in throngs to the army of Essex, who compelled the king to raise the siege of Gloucester, and defeated him in a pitched battle at Newbury in September, 1643. This success completely changed the aspect of affairs, especially by bringing all the waverers back to the war-party. Furthermore, Pym (Fig. 7), "King Pym" as his enemies



FIG. 7.— John Pym. From the engraving by E. Finden (1792-1857) after the miniature by Samuel Cooper (1609-1672).

called him, was successful in inducing the Scots to ally themselves with the Parliamentarians and to send an army of 21,000 to their aid.

This alliance was a victory for Presbyterianism, to which confession the Scots belonged. Every Englishman had to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant, as formerly the Scots had done. The Episcopal clergy were driven from their offices, with no less degree of bigotry than that by which the Presbyterians had been expelled from theirs. Not only the theatre but all festivities and amusements were sacrificed to the gloomy and rigid temper of these zealots. In the future, Presbyterians alone were to sit in town and church councils.

But on what principle of justice could the dominant party maintain these restrictions? Neither popery nor episcopacy had been allowed to

exercise authority ; why then Presbyterianism ? Among the numerous contemporaneous religious and political parties which sprang up in opposition to it, none was so systematically organized as the Independents. What these contended for was equality pure and simple, in both political and religious institutions. Neither nobility nor priesthood should longer constitute distinct castes. The communion of the faithful should rule over all without distinction.

This logical system inspired its disciples with a gloomy resolution that Presbyterianism could not long withstand. Several circumstances co-operated in favor of the Independents. The "Solemn League and Covenant" was the last work of the Presbyterian "King Pym," for in December, 1643, this notable man died. While the Presbyterian general, Essex, was being defeated by the royalists in Cornwall and his army forced to a disgraceful capitulation, an Independent general, Oliver Cromwell by name, had been winning great successes.

Cromwell was born April 25, 1599, at Huntingdon, in Eastern England, and was the son of a landed gentleman of good family (PLATE IV.). At the university of Cambridge he seems to have made but little progress. Yet his talents were so conspicuous that when scarcely twenty-nine years old he was elected to Parliament. But neither then nor for twelve years longer did he distinguish himself there for eloquence, but rather for the vehemence and incorrectness of his style of speech. Not till he entered the field of battle did his powerful and fervid, but clear-sighted temperament disclose itself.

As one of the earliest contributors, he had in the beginning of 1642 subscribed £500 toward the expenses of the war. He allied himself with the Independents because their fanatical but energetic and democratic piety was in harmony with his own strong character. The ragamuffins whom the rich Presbyterians sent to the army were little to his liking. "I will raise men," he exclaimed, "who have the fear of God before their eyes and who make a conscience-matter of what they do." He levied, accordingly, in the eastern counties a corps of 1000 young freeholders, as daring as they were fanatical, and the best cavalry in the world. These were Cromwell's renowned "Ironsides," equal in courage to Rupert's Cavaliers and far superior to them in discipline. Marches and battles alternated with prayer-meetings. Nothing is more characteristic of Cromwell than the instructions he gave them: "I will not deceive you and make you believe you are fighting for king and Parliament. If the king stood before me, I would discharge my pistol at him as readily as at any other man. If your consciences do not warrant this, depart and seek another service."

PLATE IV.



Oliver Cromwell.

From the drawing (1740) by John Faber (1684-1756), after the painting (1653)
by Peter Lely (1617-1680).

Library of All Nations, Vol. XIII, page 4.

The troops won for their colonel such a name that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and as such he rescued the defeated Scots and put Prince Rupert utterly to rout at Marston Moor, in the neighborhood of York (July 2, 1644). The whole royal artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

The Independents were in ecstasies. The glorious victory won by their soldiers and their general stood out in proud relief against the repeated defeats of the Presbyterians. In Scotland, the Presbyterians were vanquished by Montrose, an enthusiastic and devoted nobleman, who had summoned the clans to rise for the cause of the king, and had



FIG. 8.—Lord Fairfax. From the engraving by C. H. Jeens, after the miniature by John Hoskins (died 1664).

with them fought his way to the gates of Edinburgh. Cromwell availed himself of these facts to bring forward in Parliament the bitterest complaints against the Scots and Presbyterians generally. He and his friends brought forward the so-called "Self-denying Ordinance," which was designed to place the conduct of the war exclusively in the hands of the Independents, and to make the army fully independent of Parliament. In particular, it ordained that no member of either house should be competent to hold any civil or military office during the continuance of the war. After a long struggle, the bill passed both houses in April, 1645. Essex and other Parliamentary lords had to lay down their commissions. Sir Thomas Fairfax (Fig. 8) was appointed commander-in-chief—a

cultured, chivalric, and thoroughly conscientious officer, who, however, was far from being qualified for his eminent office. Cromwell therefore was named his colleague, and in spite of the "Self-denying Ordinance," confirmed in his military position.

The Independents had fully attained their aim. In a few weeks the new leaders thoroughly purged the army of its Presbyterian elements and replaced them by Independents, a sect whose members prayed with as much fervor as they fought. No oath was heard in their camp, no card-playing or orgies were witnessed; these ardent Calvinists regarded themselves as the chosen instruments of the Lord against the Philistines and Amalekites. The increased influence of this fanatical party showed itself in the renewal, after an interval of three years, of the trial of Archbishop Laud, and his conviction and execution (January, 1645).

The reorganized Independent army vindicated its character brilliantly, winning victory after victory. It was superior both in numbers and in discipline, and was well paid. Charles, on the other hand, suffered continuously from want of money, which came to him only through voluntary contributions; insubordination was common among his troops, who supplied their wants by plunder, and so made themselves and the king's party detested in the country. Charles sent his wife anew to Holland, to procure the necessary means for continuing the struggle: they never saw each other again. On June 14, 1645, the Parliamentary forces under Fairfax and Cromwell won an unprecedented victory at Naseby (Fig. 9). A hundred flags, the king's own standard, his papers, all his artillery, and 5000 prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. The royalist army was annihilated, and the war was decided in favor of Parliament. The whole west fell into the power of its army. At the same time, Montrose also was completely overthrown in Scotland. Prince Rupert, despairing of the royal cause, embarked for France.

Such successes increased the confidence of the party of the Independents. By new elections to the seats vacant in the House of Commons, the ranks of the Independents were materially strengthened. The domination of these perfectly honest, but stern and impassioned men aroused the bitterest party feeling. All the friendly advances of the king were repelled; but for this, one can scarcely blame Parliament, for secret instructions of Charles had been captured, in which he promised the Irish rebels the complete surrender of the Protestant population into their hands if they would send troops to his help in England.

The victorious Parliamentarians then advanced toward Oxford, where the king had chiefly resided during the war. To escape falling into their hands, he fled from the city almost alone, April 27, 1646, his purpose

being to throw himself into the arms of the Scots, who, he knew, were much offended at the supremacy of the Independents. But the leaders of the Scottish army were not prepared to expose themselves to the revenge of the English Parliament by aiding Charles, and, although much embarrassed as to what they should do with him, detained him in an honorable sort of captivity.

The Independents were still more painfully disturbed by this unexpected step of the king. They feared that Charles would, as his wife and most faithful servants counseled, reconcile himself with the Presbyterians, join to them the whole royalist party, and thus gain the preponderance in the country. But the English Presbyterians were delighted. Against the will of the Independent members, a deputation from both houses was sent to the monarch, to submit to him conditions of peace. They required the abolition of the Episcopal church, the acceptance of the Covenant, the banishment of his most deeply compromised adherents, and the transfer to Parliament for twenty years of the command of the army. The last but one of these conditions was the only one that touched his honor, and he might have evaded acceptance of it by concurring in the others, which were as moderate as could reasonably be expected under the circumstances. But Charles refused to agree to these terms.

The Independents could not conceal their joy at an event that rescued them from a menacing situation, and they availed themselves of the favorable turn of affairs to remove Charles from the influence of the Scotch Presbyterians and to get him into their own hands. The Scots were deeply offended at Charles's stubborn rejection of the Covenant. They reflected that the war was being carried on for English interests and on English soil, and they resolved to leave England and deliver up the monarch if the English would pay their claim for arrears of pay for the army, amounting to £400,000. Their claims were satisfied by Parliament, and on February 9, 1647, the king was transferred from the Scots to the English and taken to Holmby House for detention.

The Presbyterians in Parliament still believed they had the power in their own hands. After the victories that Charles's enemies had won, milder sentiments and a more peaceful disposition began to prevail among them generally, which naturally operated in favor of the moderate Presbyterians, and even led to the return of a Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons. Both houses resolved to bring about as speedily as possible the disbanding of the army, and to raise the money required to pay off the troops by loans and new taxes.

If these measures were adopted, it was all over with the rule of the Independents. The latter recognized this and were resolved to prevent

such a result at any cost. Generals Ireton and Lambert, formerly lawyers, who had gone over to the Parliamentary side from ambition and not from conviction, co-operated with Cromwell in stimulating the passions of the narrow-minded, fanatical officers and common soldiers. They succeeded but too well. Both classes appointed committees of "agitators," who were to work together with the purpose of making the Independent army prevail over the Presbyterian Parliament. "The Army of the Saints" thus took form as a new and formidable power alongside of and in opposition to Parliament. The instrument with which Parliament had overthrown the monarchy had now risen up against Parliament itself.

Soon the army sent to Parliament threatening petitions; Parliament armed the thoroughly Presbyterian train-bands of London and determined to enter into earnest negotiations with the king. Then the leaders of the army resolved to withdraw the king from Parliamentary influence. Accordingly on June 3, 1647, a cavalry corps of 700 men, led by Cornet Joyce, of Cromwell's own regiment, conveyed Charles from Holmby House to Newmarket, in the midst of the army, where, though a prisoner, he was treated with great consideration.

The tidings of this action roused the Presbyterian majority in Parliament to wild fury, but feverish excitement soon gave way to despondent inactivity. Certain bold members, who brought a complaint against Cromwell in the House of Commons, were left without support by their party. When Cromwell answered it in a speech two hours in length, casting himself on his knees and invoking on his head all the curses of Heaven if he had not been loyal to Parliament, every one professed to be satisfied. On the evening after this scene, he left London and placed himself at the head of the army that advanced against the capital. Dismayed and defenceless, Parliament submitted and gave their approval to the removal of the king from Holmby House to the army.

The army was resolved to make its victory a permanent one. Its leaders entered into negotiations with the king, with the view of being better able, in conjunction with him, to bid defiance to Parliament. With the approval of the council of war, Cromwell and his devoted adherent, Ireton, proposed conditions to Charles much less restrictive of monarchy and much more lenient to the Cavaliers than the former demands of the two houses, although stipulating for a greater degree of political and social equality.

Although all his advisers urged him to accept the conditions, Charles rejected them with bitter words. His hopes were based on the anti-Independent, royalist movement that had manifested itself in London;

but he again deceived himself in regard to his own personal importance and the strength of parties. "Sir," said Ireton to him, "you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the Parliament and us; and we mean to be it between your majesty and the Parliament." On August 7, 1647, the soldiers entered the capital, silently and under the most rigorous discipline, but strong and irresistible. All the more prominent Presbyterians in Parliament and the common council fled. The remainder of the representatives of the nation sealed their shame by voting the thanks of both houses to their oppressors.

Cromwell and his generals now had the power in their own hands. But, rough as they were in speech and manner, they were men of clear insight, and, thoroughly recognizing the conservative spirit of the English people, they would gladly have come to terms with the king. Once more they offered to him conditions which were by no means unfavorable. This attempt, however, at reconciliation failed, and this failure was due to two causes. First, to the honest fanaticism and republican sentiments of the army; and, secondly, to the faithlessness of Charles. It was learned that, in his confidential utterances to his intimate friends and adherents, he threatened the leaders of the army with the direst fate, and that he was having secret relations with the Scotch and English Presbyterians.

From a character so insincere, it was obviously impossible to secure anything permanent and reliable. Cromwell, therefore, now determined to yield to the wishes of the army and sacrifice the king. Charles, noticing the general's changed bearing toward himself, and dreading the worst, managed to escape from his imprisonment at Hampton Court (November 11, 1647), and fled to the Isle of Wight, where he hoped for a friendly reception from Hammond, governor of the island.

Cromwell set himself right as speedily as possible with the army. By a judicious admixture of firmness and compliance, he completely won over the soldiers, and soon re-inspired them with confidence in his leadership. He now openly strove for the establishment of a republic. A good impression was created in Cromwell's favor by Charles's continued duplicity and hostility. Instead of escaping safely to the continent, as he might have done with perfect ease, he remained intriguing on the Isle of Wight, and on December 20, 1647, concluded a treaty with the commissioners of the Scottish Parliament, by which he accepted the Covenant, while the Scots pledged themselves not only to acknowledge him as their king, but, by force if necessary, to reseat him on the English throne. At the same time, Charles rejected some further proposals made to him by the English representatives. Consequently the

latter shut him up as a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, and resolved to arrange the affairs of the nation without him.

This was a decided step toward republicanism, and, as such, was most unacceptable to the great majority of the English people. Royalist risings soon took place in the country, especially in Kent and the mountains of Wales. The greater part of the fleet sailed directly to Holland and put itself under the command of Charles, Prince of Wales.

Thus, after two years of peace, there broke out the second civil war in the British Isles. The Scottish Parliament voted to send 40,000 men into the field to join the royalists and support the king. On the continent the royalists armed themselves under the leadership of Queen Henrietta Maria.

In July, 1648, the Scots, under the Duke of Hamilton, entered England; but they injured, rather than helped, the royal cause. Instead of 40,000 men, they were but 14,000, and these were poorly armed and poorly led. Besides, they were so much disliked by the English people generally, but especially by the Cavaliers, that no one joined them. They were thus easily defeated by Cromwell, in August, at Preston. Nearly their whole force, including Hamilton, were made prisoners.

The victory of the army was so complete that Parliament became alarmed, and, to the great annoyance of the Independents, began negotiations anew with the king. Humiliating as these were, the king dabbled with them for two months, wishing thereby to gain an opportunity for flight. Once more he fell into his own snare. Cromwell had, with incredible rapidity, established the sway of the Independents in demoralized Scotland. This done, he hurried south. His army, inspired with double confidence after their speedy and brilliant successes, and exasperated on account of the renewed bloody war caused by the king and his adherents, demanded that Charles I. should be duly punished. On December 1, 1648, the king, who in his growing anxiety would now, when it was too late, have accepted Parliament's conditions, was once more removed and conveyed to Hurst Castle.

Rage on account of such violence, after Parliament had solemnly pledged itself for the security and honorable treatment of the king, infused fresh courage into the overawed Presbyterian majority. The House of Commons threw out all the army's "remonstrances" and decided, by one hundred and twenty-nine votes to thirty-eight, that the replies of the king afforded a basis for peace.

The Independents were ready enough to take up the gauntlet thus thrown down, and they had the effective power in their hands. On December 6 and 7, troops under Colonel Pride surrounded the chamber

of the House of Commons, and seized eighty-one of its members. Sixty others, in well-grounded fear of a like fate, stayed away from the further sittings. This act, known as "Pride's Purge," cleared the house of all members who favored Presbyterianism and who were opposed to the army.

This decided the fate of the king. On December 23, the remaining members of the House of Commons, all Independents, and constituting the "Rump" of the Long Parliament, resolved by a great majority to arraign the king for high treason against the Parliament, before a specially constituted tribunal.

Westminster Hall, where the trial took place, was guarded by whole regiments, for the indignation of the people at this act of violence, and their sympathies for the illustrious captive, plainly manifested themselves. One hundred and thirty-five members of the court had been selected, but only sixty-seven were present. The proceedings of the court, under the presidency of John Bradshaw, were as informal as its constitution. Without listening to the king's answer or defence, it condemned him to death on January 27, 1649. Under the mandate for execution, there appear only fifty-nine signatures, some of which were compulsory. Charles conducted himself, all through the proceedings, with the greatest dignity. He was permitted to take leave of his young children, and on January 30, 1649, peacefully submitted to death on the scaffold in front of Whitehall, amid the tears and protests of a multitude of people.

The effect of the execution of Charles I. was to reconcile the English people once more to the idea of monarchy. The long array of errors and weaknesses of which James and Charles had been guilty vanished from memory when the latter—the representative, in a certain sense, of the legitimate constitution of Old England—was thus put to death. The king was no longer thought of as the persecutor of the cause of freedom, but as a victim and martyr, and as such he still lives in the memory of many. Had the revolutionary leaders been content with driving Charles to the continent, any restoration of monarchy during his lifetime would not have been thought of, for his personal character was unsatisfactory to all parties.

Very different was the situation, now that his eldest son, Charles II., was the legitimate claimant of the English crown. No bad quality was known to attach to this youth, no gloomy memory separated him from the whole liberal party of his people; but, as one grievously wronged, as the son of the "royal martyr," he attracted deep and general sympathy. Thus the execution of Charles was not merely a crime, it was a great blunder on the part of the republicans.

For a time, the party which had perpetrated the deed derived only new strength and confidence from it. It contemplated a republic with a house of hereditary senators; nevertheless, the Commons, on February 6, 1649, passed a resolution abolishing the House of Lords as "useless and dangerous." On the following day, the royal dignity was "forever" abrogated, and England was formally converted into a republic, as it had been practically for the last seven years.

The young republic instituted an executive board of forty-one members, whose president was Bradshaw, the "regicide," who had presided at the court which condemned the king. Its duty was to carry on the government under the supervision of Parliament. But the foundation of this government was very weak. In vain did its authors seek to strengthen it through terror, especially by executing the Duke of Hamilton and some others. No man felt secure. Many of those called to the council of state hesitated about taking their seats. In England, scarcely a tenth of the people were for the republic; in Scotland and Ireland, not one.

The long and embittered struggle between the king and Parliament did not stifle all feeling for literature and science in England. Great Britain, during the first half of the seventeenth century, was pre-eminently the land of classical learning; not that it possessed great philologists or archaeologists, but that the knowledge of ancient authors and facility in the use of Latin were more widely spread there than among any other people. Since the death of Elizabeth, these studies had gained largely in popularity and depth, both in the church and among the laity. Chillingworth's apologetic work, "*The Religion of Protestants*" (1637), is still reckoned among the classics of England. Reared in Protestantism, he became a convert to Catholicism, only to return again to his earlier faith. But this he embraced in its broadest and noblest sense, arguing in his work for the greatest toleration toward different views. He and Hales were the founders of the school known in the English church as the Latitudinarian, whose principles also found expression in Jeremy Taylor's "*Liberty of Prophesying*" (1647).

While such ecclesiastical authors were assailing positive dogmatism, Thomas Hobbes, in his comprehensive work, "*Leviathan*," preached the doctrine of pure materialism. According to him, the only source of knowledge is the senses; the only object, the material world. Thus Hobbes inculcated not only the sensualism that Locke afterward borrowed from him, but also the materialism accepted from him by the French "philosophers" of the second half of the eighteenth century. But Hobbes developed the philosophy not only of nature, but also of

civil society and statesmanship. The natural powers lead, in the world of men, to a "war of all against all," a universal struggle for existence. To escape from the evils of a state of nature, man had submitted himself to the authority of an absolute ruler, and had no right to object, no matter how that ruler or monarch treated him, and no right to deviate from the state religion recognized by his sovereign. No wonder that the Stuarts attached Hobbes to their person, and, after the Restoration, rewarded him with a pension. But, while his philosophic doctrines exercised a profound influence both in England and France, his political teaching remained without effect on his countrymen.

English poetry, in this age of general learning and literary activity, was cultivated in many forms. In poetry, the prevalence of merely formal culture gave rise to a tendency toward mere elegance of expression, artificial grace, and new philosophic ideas, that were not in keeping with natural truth, simplicity, and genuine poetical feeling. Only in the language of Cowley do we here and there recognize true fancy and sound judgment amid a medley of silly, unnatural phrases. The vigorous patriotism of the period gave rise to many historical epics, more admirable for the learning and conscientious accuracy of their composers than for their poetical merits. The best production of the patriotic school, "Britannia's Pastorals," by William Browne, often served as a pattern to Milton in this field. Shakspeare's sonnets attracted numerous imitators.

In unapproachable majesty, the form of John Milton stands far above all these more or less commonplace rhymsters (1608-1674). Born of a Puritan family, Milton applied himself to his studies with such assiduity that he brought on that affection of the eyes which resulted ultimately in blindness. With resolution he withstood all allurements to a life of pleasure; but his rigid habits in nowise injured his poetic talent, for, even while a student at Cambridge, his English and Latin verses were distinguished for their grandeur of style. Among the numerous creations of this period, none are more renowned or more generally read than the twin poems, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." The profusion of noble figures, the finished and richly imaginative style, the faultless verse-structure, and the gentle, contemplative melancholy that pervades both pieces rank them among the most beautiful and perfect products of the didactic muse. Lyrical pieces of all kinds also contributed to enhance his fame.

At the age of thirty, deeply affected by his mother's death, he set out on a tour on the continent. Hurrying through France to Italy, that classic land of poetry and art, he educated himself by intercourse with the leading spirits, imbibing at the same time an inextinguishable hatred

of all priestly domination. As he had formerly written Latin, he now wrote Italian verses. He was on the point of setting out for Greece when news of the beginning of the struggle for freedom at home drew him thither, with the determination to take part in it with all his strength. In a series of masterly pamphlets, he assailed the state church both in its religious and in its political aspects. But, on the victorious Presbyterians showing themselves no more tolerant than their foes, he defended freedom of conscience against his former brethren. In his "Areopagitica" (1644), the most finished and perfect of his prose writings, he extols freedom as the mother of all great thoughts, and, along with truth, the highest earthly possession.

Milton answered the most violent expression of royalist sentiment, the Bishop of Exeter's *Eikon Basilike* (Royal Image), wherein the sufferings of the king were recounted, as if autobiographically, in his *Eikonoclastes* (Image-breaker). Then the embittered Stuarts hired the learned philologist, Saumaise (Salmasius) of Leyden, to defend, in his *Defensio Regia*, not only the person of the king, but the divine right of absolute monarchy. Milton, at the request of Parliament, answered this with his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1650), an impassioned work, but written in a brilliant and persuasive style.

To Cromwell, who seemed to him destined to save the Commonwealth and Protestant freedom of conscience, he enthusiastically attached himself. After the fall of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy, he naturally had to endure severe persecution; only the intervention of powerful friends succeeded in freeing him from prison after he had been arrested for treason. His married life was very unhappy; his property perished in the civil war; his house was destroyed by fire; while his daughters were by no means the loving helpers that writers and artists have represented them to be. But his spirit rose above all his sufferings to its supreme effort, the production of "Paradise Lost" (1667), a work that will live as long as the English language; it was continued in "Paradise Regained." After producing his drama of "Samson Agonistes," that later served as the groundwork for Händel's oratorio, he died (1674) at Bunhill, near London.

The development of the theatre under James and Charles had been entirely anti-Puritanic. Both sovereigns were its warm patrons till the victorious Presbyterians, in repeated decrees, condemned it to silence. Under James, Shakspeare produced some of his greatest dramas—"King Lear," "Macbeth," "Othello," "Coriolanus," "Julius Caesar," "Antony and Cleopatra," and the comedies of "Measure for Measure" and "The Tempest." Without being fully recognized by his contempo-

aries as holding the unapproachable position among dramatists which the present age has assigned to him, he was still regarded by them as one of the best playwrights of the time.

Ben Jonson's painfully precise elegance, pedantic erudition, and skilful imitation of the ancients made him the especial favorite of the higher classes in England at that time. Nor can dexterity in the structure of his scenes and marvellous comic power be denied him. The latter quality comes especially into relief in his admirable satires on the gloomy, often hypocritical character of the Puritans, hostile to all worldly learning. Toward the end of his career, Jonson became convinced that his opponents, the Puritans, would be victorious, and the beautiful—but unfortunately incomplete—pastoral drama, "The Sad Shepherd," gives pathetic expression to this conviction. His controversy with the Puritans recommended him to the court, and James appointed him poet-laureate; as such he produced his charming "Masques," which were represented at court.

After Shakspere and Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher were the favorite dramatists in the reign of James I. In the time of Charles I., Massinger was especially illustrious; his noble yet graceful fancy found expression in beautiful and attractive diction, and his simple though refined taste avoided the errors into which his poetical contemporaries, not excepting Shakspere, were wont to fall. His comedies, especially "The City Madam" and "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," are of high value as illustrating the manner of life and the thought of the times. Besides those already mentioned, Shirley, Heywood, Webster, and innumerable other poets wrote for the stage, which at this time was highly popular with the English public.

The prose of the period exhibits the same defects as the poetry. Writers sought to bury the Anglo-Saxon elements in the English tongue under sonorous words from the Latin. Historical literature shows two works of importance: Knolles's "History of the Turks," and the "History of the World," by Raleigh. Besides these may be noted the "History of England," by Daniel, and the "Annals of England and Ireland," in Latin, by Camden, historiographer to the court of James I.

England and Scotland began, at this period, to assume the high scientific rank which they have maintained to the present time. John Napier discovered logarithms in 1614, while his co-worker, Briggs, greatly improved upon the new arithmetical discovery, besides contributing much to the development of the study of binomials. To Harriot we are indebted for other advances in algebra. In medicine, William Harvey inaugurated a new era by his investigations on the circulation

of the blood (1628); Harvey was also the first to expose the fallacy of spontaneous generation, and to maintain that all the higher orders of animals take their origin from an ovum.

The warm interest taken in the advancement of learning is seen in the liberal contributions of statesmen and private persons to the universities. For Oxford, Sir Thomas Bodley built at his own cost a magnificent library and bequeathed to it his own valuable collection of books and manuscripts, as well as an endowment for the purchase of books in the future. Numerous eminent Englishmen, among them the Duke of Buckingham, and especially Archbishop Laud, enriched the Bodleian Library with princely munificence.

CHAPTER II.

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

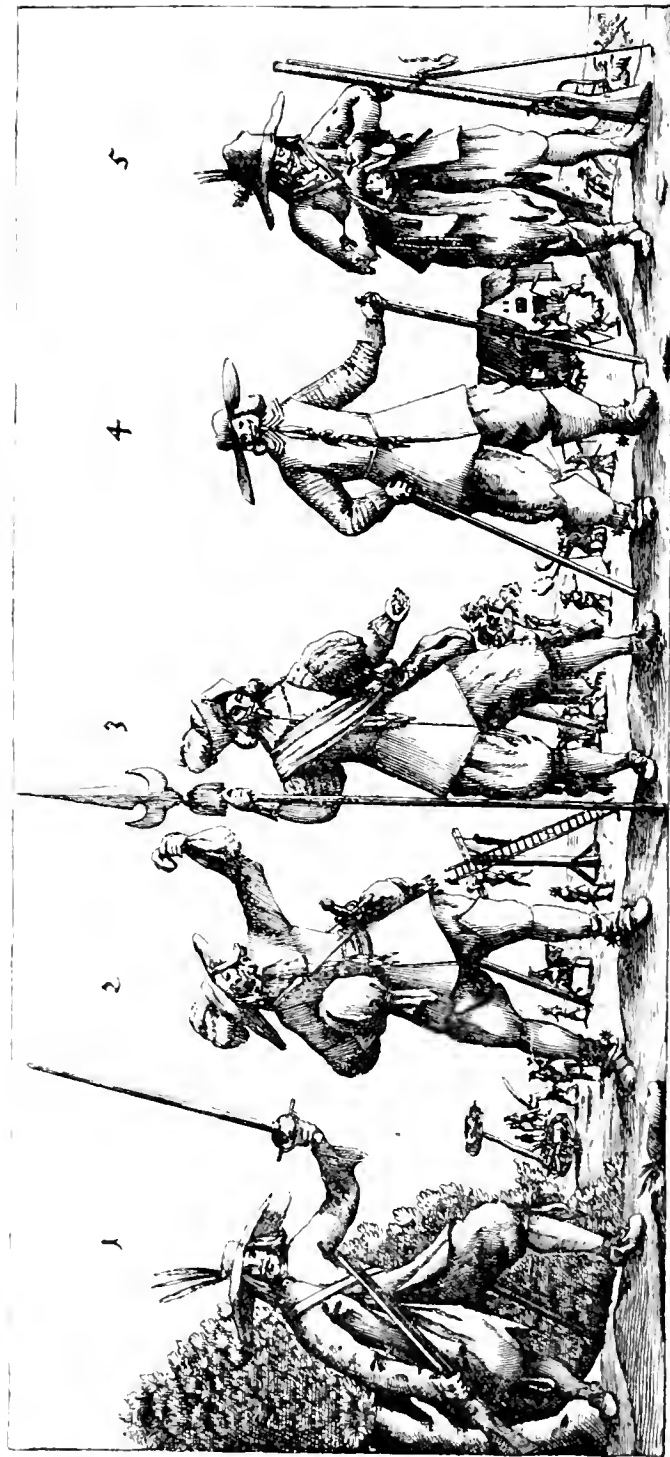
TO its great loss, Germany had for thirty years been the centre of the political and military activity of Europe. Seldom has a people been stricken with such a calamity as were the Germans, through the ruinous war for religion. That the country not only survived, but gradually elevated itself from its wretched state, is a proof of its indestructible vitality and essential soundness.

The numerical strength of the armies (PLATE V.) was not such as utterly to ruin, even by their long-continued presence, a country so rich as the Germany of the beginning of the seventeenth century. The actual armies did not average in number more than 30,000 to 40,000 men, but camp-followers hung about the combatants, and they too had to be fed. At the end of the war, the united imperial-Bavarian army comprised 40,000 soldiers who drew rations and 140,000 camp-followers who got nothing. All these had to live at the cost of the peaceful, industrious population. As the pay was then much higher than it is now in the German armies, it was invariably in arrears, and the soldiers had to resort to plundering to maintain themselves. When they had once entered on the path of violence, there was no means of checking them in their wild career. In their depredations, they halted at nothing; rank, sex, place were not sacred to them; violence was done to churches, altars, and even to graves (Fig. 10). Robbery, burning, torture, and murder were perpetrated from sheer delight therein, on friend and foe alike.

From all over Germany, from Pomerania to Swabia, from East Friesland to Austria, arose, with terrible uniformity, the same wail of despair. Imperialists, Leaguists, Swedes, Hessians, Bavarians, alike fell upon the peaceful homesteads, took all that was of worth to them, destroyed and devastated the rest, wantonly slaughtered the cattle, wasted the fields and orchards, tortured the inhabitants to extort from them a disclosure of their hidden valuables, outraged women, and dragged the most beautiful away with them and sold them like cattle. On their departure, they not seldom set fire to the villages and towns. Even the forests were burned down and the fishponds drained, out of mere wanton-

PLATE V.

Barrenschinderlicher Varter Hansen Dnehrlicher Anfang / Gefähr-
lichster Fortgang / vmd Allerschändlichster Ausgang.



Der muß hernach seine Levens-geut/
 Viel thum/ es sey ihm lieb ob lebt.
 Erhalten ich gedult nicht mehr
 Als das ich hude künndt best
 Wo nichts verlohren/ was künden/
 Auf den Bergen/ in Thal und Grunden/
 Was ich von Wob der künndt schen;
 Und sich mir willig thut ergeben/
 Wooh das sie nach meinem Gesellen/
 Winnen gebunden Zoff bejehln.
 Wäcker nun ist gesolt mit Golt/
 Derselbe kenneu Dolt bejehlt/
 Wo aber die Pfennig ausgelegt/
 Wird ihm das Geld über d Dorn gegogen/
 Wann ich um diß ein Zeitlang treib/
 Vor dem halben Kame nicht bleib/
 Und nicht erhebet von der Erd/
 Zum Sternscheit gemacht werd;
 2
 A lebamt ich mich von neuem Mundir
 Was aller städteste flasche
 Von der Zusicheln ein neues Kleid/
 Da müßten sein viel Wollanten/
 Ein schöne Scherpe mit gulden Ziercke,
 Der Hut mit einer großen Feder,
 Ein neues Kolt/ von Elends Leder/
 Einest/ Kalschen/ Sporn vergült:
 Und er am mit hierzu mangelt Geld.
 So spreche ich den Darsman an/
 Wo der nicht halt wiß Zahlung thun/
 So muß der arme Teuffel wohl/
 Über schlag ihm die Haut voll
 Der Daur so sich nicht rochen arff/
 Umfendet meine Kurbelt scharrff/
 Consten ich nie das Herz gewonnen/
 Thum Stadtbau vor die Gault zu sommern.

Ich lang ich rechte leben an/
 Da muß ich haben einischler Dam/
 Mit welcher ich mich reisther/
 Diß mir ein schoner künner für/
 Als bald ich die Alte verschend/
 Und mich an eine ander hand/
 Dierste ich so lang bejehlt/
 Diß eine bester mir geset/
 Dann geschou Schand nach der dich, nauff/
 Und sich sie Mutter nach der aus/
 kess sie meine Hund aushegen/
 Also kan ich mich wohl reggen/
 Wann abehen diesen guten leben/
 Der Darsman ganz nicht mehr kan gebn.
 Und ich gleich wohl ein Dierelass/
 Will leben in vollen Quas und Kess/
 Wer ich gezwungen das ich ausseut/
 Und auff der Straffen mache Daur
 Das ist ein sein Thun; wenns geling/
 Und es in sicher Wung bringet/
 Wenns aber einem dahint heubt
 Das man ihm die Augen verbind
 Und stelt ihn an ein Daur kernen
 Wie den heiliger Seelstian/
 Der macht ihn kürzer vmb ein Spann/
 Davids E. Welens künden han.
 4
 A Dume ich aber auch dißmaßl
 Daren vmb mit der Haut nicht küh,
 So Juch er mich die Daren Haut/
 Und wo solche vormit getunt/
 Dazur es holler Krag vmb künden/
 Das Gesicht mit vort den Daren schwind/
 * * * * *

Er setter meiner nicht begehrt.
 Da seiff es bald holla Monfur
 Er schaff ihm ein ander Quartier
 Wie krank und mar ich immer bin/
 Da küßte ganz nichts ich muß aushin
 Manther also an künner erscheyn/
 Und wo mich nun der Daur außspirt/
 Dersich zuvor hab treult/
 So vord er mit den Schlaftrund gehn/
 Das mit das Ehren vort Kopff ihr Neben/
 5
 A Gleich/ wann dann mich armen kunn/
 Verlassen Bürger/ vnd die Daur/
 Einischler ehlicher Solbat/
 Vort mir auch einen Abscheu bet/
 So muß ich mit den Euten wandern/
 Dey Nacht von einem Doff zum andern/
 Und hab ein stark Coos/ bey mir
 Der ich gerne geduldt treht
 Vortersch kauft Wammes kagen
 Die mich an leke pfien vnd pfaga
 Welche ich alle muß eruchen
 Kan mich kess nicht des Hungers vrechern/
 In diesem Stand arm vnd elend/
 Ich endlich mein Eircherte küh/
 Jgend auff einem Hauffen Mill/
 Derwelds ein wenig besser ist/
 In einer alten Schur oder Stall/
 Dasselst en nem ich vberall
 Ehre krank und mar mit Hungers Noth/
 Er wart ich mein Elenden Zed.
 Mancher küh/ den kühler Nacht/
 Wird bald auff den Kirchhoff gebracht
 Auff dem die Kess an Niden vnd Pfiden
 Von den Wölffen gefressen werden.
 Das bringe ich endlich daron
 Dann diß Arbeit güt solches lohn.

Facsimile of a Saurical Print relating to the Soldiery of the Thirty Years' War, about 1635.

ness. When a place defended itself, all the inhabitants were ruthlessly murdered except the few rich, from whom they sought to secure ransoms



FIG. 10. The Children of Hell ("Höllenkinder"). From "Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald," by Hans Michael Moscherosch.

by the most fiendish tortures of all kinds. It was a favorite amusement of these monsters to impale helpless infants, dash them against walls, or roast them in stoves. In short, the soldier's motto was, "Who-

ever owns anything is our foe." Nor were the leaders more forbearing than their men. Count Königsmark, once a poor German page, carried off enough to Sweden to leave his family a yearly income of 130,000 thalers.¹

To these devastations by the soldiery and the heavy taxes imposed for the maintenance of the troops (PLATES V., VI.²), there were added the exorbitant war-contributions levied by the generals from hostile towns and districts. In one small section of Hanover, Tilly, within three years, exacted 2,000,000 thalers. In one single year, the little town of Goslar had to contribute 544,000 thalers. Brandenburg was laid under contribution by Wallenstein and Montecuccoli to the amount of 20,000,000 thalers, and so on through a long list.

The distress was universal. Business and exchange of every kind were further harmed by the debasement of the coinage, which was practised by all the German princes, especially in the years 1621–1623, Brunswick having set the example. In place of standard metal, the coins were composed of copper or simply of sheet-iron lightly silvered over. No one would accept them at their nominal value, and the uncertainty and confusion became so great that dealers and inn-keepers took down their signs. So-called money was in abundance, but no one could get anything like its face value for it. A good thaler sold for 8, 15, and at last 20 thalers of the debased coinage. A bushel of corn brought 40 thalers of such money, a pitcher of wine 130. At last the taxes were paid in the debased money, and the gain slipped through the fingers of the princes. Then they remedied matters by calling in the new coinage at its real worth, and issuing coins of full value. But they had defrauded their poor subjects to the extent of the difference in value between the debased and the genuine money, and had done irretrievable injury to business (PLATE VII.).

All industries were at a standstill; even the busy hand of the husbandman was at rest. Whole villages died out; multitudes concealed themselves in forests, caves, and ravines. Hunger gnawed the vitals of the people, who in their anguish ate human flesh, and even broke into graves, ascended the gallows, and robbed the wheel, to prey on the corpses there. Men fought over horseflesh, and slew one another. More terrible still, men slaughtered human beings, especially defenceless

¹The thaler was a silver coin having an intrinsic value of 72 cents, but it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was three times as great at the period of the Thirty Years' War as at present.

²The verses accompanying this picture set forth the varying fortunes of the soldier, in five stages.

Er Ferdinand der Dritte Röm. Kaysr / zu allen Zeiten Mehrer des Reichs // Slavonien / 2c. Kdaltz / Erzhertzog zu Oesterreich / Hertzog zu B Marggraff zu Mähren / In Ober : vnd Nieder Lothning / Graff zu Habsburg / Z gangen Soldatesca zu Ross vnd Fuß / Wie auch Jedermänniglichen Unsere C

bert / daß zu verhaltung aller Vnordnungen / ein gewisse Ordinnung gesetzt werde / vermög deren das in W
 solle / vnd ein Jeglicher wissen könne / was / vnd wie viel man dem Einquartiertem Kriegsvold zureichen v
 meiner Wissenschaft Publitiren lassen.

Nad ist anfänglich denen Ständen frey

gestellt / auff die Officier vnd Soldaten / welche sich
 effektiv bey Ihren Regimentern vnd Compagnien befinden / oder
 iach vnd nach darzu kommen möchten / enweder die hernach beschrie
 bene Verpflegung / völig in dährem Gelde / oder denen Officieren
 zway Drittel in Gelde / vnd ein Drittel inn Brodt / Fleisch vnd Wein /
 oder wo kein Wein / in Bier / Denen gemeinen Soldaten aber / halb
 in Gelde / vnd halb in vorhemelten Proviand Sorten zurutehen / außser
 der Servitien / von Holz / Liech / Salz / Liegerstahl / vnd für die Reute
 der die Nothdurfft von rauhem Futter / welches den Hohen vnd Nies
 bern Officieren / so wol auch denen gemeinen Soldaten / absonderlich
 gebühret.

Vorhemelt Proviand Sorten / sollen denen Soldaten nicht
 höher angeschlagen werden / Als das Psunde

Brodt / p.

Das Psunde Fleisch / p.

Vnd die Maß Wein / p.

Die Maß Bier aber / p.

Obrister zu Ross.

Soll das Monat für 30. Tag gerechnet vnd auff el
 nes Obristen Stab zu Ross / so Zehen / biß in 7. Compagnien hat / für
 alles vnd Jedes / vnd für alle Stabs Personen gerolcht werden / Mo
 nathlich / Zwölffhundert Guldten.

Deme aber / so Sechß / oder weniger Compagnien hat / Mo
 nathlich / Siebenhundert vnd zwanzig Guldten.

Dann so werden passiert auff den ganzen Stab 6. 3. Pferd vnd
 12. Bagagy Ross / vnd auff Jedes Pferd nur das rauhe Futter / als
 1. 1. gltlich 6. Psunde Hey / vnd Wochentlich 2. Bunde Stroh.

Auff eine Compagnia Kürasser Monathlich.

Dem Rittmeister /

Leutheuant /

Cor net /

Auff 4 Corporalen Trometer / vnd andere Officier /

Einem gemeinen Reutter / 30. Rtz. des Tags / 1. 1. 1. Mo
 nathlich /

150 fl

60. fl

50. fl

180. fl

15. fl

Denen unberiteten Re
 verpflegung / als 15. Rtz. des Ta
 soiten gebühret / wann es
 legenheit gemacht werden /

Dem Rittmeister wi
 Futter auff 6. Pferd / Leut
 poral / Furier / Mustersche
 vnd einem gemeinen Reute
 des Pferd täglich geben
 pnd Woche milch zway B

Dann werden passiert
 12. Bagagy Pferd / Hergag
 Bagagy Pferd alsobalden

Auff ein Compagnie A
 in allem passiert / wie auff d

Einem Ob
 Auff den Obristen El

Compagnien hat / für alle
 Etabs personen / wird das
 Deme aber so Sechß

hat / wird das Monat pass
 Dann die Nothdurfft
 Pferd / vnd 16. Bagagy R
 täglich zugeben Sechß Pf
 zway Bund Stroh.

Auff eine Co
 Mo

Einem Hauptman /

Fendrich /

Leutheuant /

Loeus Sig

Ferdinand.

Queßenberg.

von Gottes Gnaden / Erwöhlter

Germanien/ zu Hungarn/ Böhaimb/ Dalmatien/ Croatien vnd
 und/ Steyr/ Kärndten / Graß / vnd Würtemberg / in Ober: vnd Nider Schlesiern /
 / vnd Böhm / 12. Endlichen N ollen vnd Jeden Unsern Hohen vnd Niedern Officieren / so wol der
 vnd alles Guts / vnd geben denselben hienit gnädigst zuvernehmen. Demnach die Nothdurfft ersfor
 r Quarrieren/ vnd Bilanisonen sich befindende Krieggsvolk/ diesen Winter hindurch verpflegt werden
 ugeben schuldig seye. Als haben Wir nachgeschickte Verpfleg vnd Unterhaltung Ordinnung zu abge

ern gebührt nur halbe Ver.
 / mit dem vbrigen / so ihme
 itten wehre / soll Jedem ge
 einer remontirung.
 arbeh passire / das rauche
 unten auff 4. Cornet 3 Cor.
 r/ Veldscherer/ Jedem zwey/
 . Pferde/ vnd soll auff Je
 den Sechß Psuade New/
 Stroh.

ff die ganze Compagnien
 solle der vbrige Troß vnnnd
 eschafft werden.

busier/ wird der Vnterhale
 Compagnia Khrasser.

ten zu Sueß.

u Fuß/ so von 10. biß in 7.
 vnd Jedes / vund für alle
 onat passiert/ 1102. fl

der weniger Compagnien
 / 700. fl

rauchem Futter auff 40.
 / vnd ist auff jedes Pferde
 t New / vnd Wochenllch

agnia zu Sueß.

llch.

150. fl

50. fl

35 fl

Auff ein Veldewäbel/	25. fl
Veldtschreiber /	20. fl
Veldtscherer /	16. fl
Furter /	18 fl
Führer /	18. fl
Auff Zween Trummelschlegler/ Jedem 8. fl. thuet	16. fl
Auff Zween Pfeißer/ Jedem Acht gilden/ thuet	16. fl
Vnd einem gemeinen Knecht deß Tags 12. Kreuzer/ thuet	
Monatlich /	6. fl

Auff eine Compagnia zu Fuß werden passiert Bagagy
 vnd andere Pferde in allem Achtfehen / vnd darauff die
 Nothdurfft deß rauchen Futterers/ als Tögllich 6. Psunde
 New / vnd Wochenllch 2. Bundt Stroh / der vbrige
 Troß soll alsobalden abgeschafft werden.

Wider diese Verordnete Verpflegung sollen die
 Ständ/ vnd deren Vnderthanen weder von Officieren/ noch
 gemeinen Soldaten / keines wegs gravirt / noch beschweret
 werden / auch ein mehrers zugeben nicht schuldig seyn / Sondern die
 Soldaten mit demselbigen / wao Ihnen / vermög deren verwillig
 würd/ sich allerdings vergnügen lassen / vnd darüber bey vnaußbleib
 licher Leibs: vnd Lebens Straff / im geringsten nicht exorbitiren / wie
 Wir Vns dann gegen einem/ vnd andern Gnädigst versihen. Wi
 drigen fals aber gegen die Verbrecher obdemelte Bestraffung für
 die Hand zunehmen / vnd dadurch andere mehr hierauf enstehende
 Angelegenheiten zuverhüten / nicht vnterlassen werden solle: Wor
 nach sich Jedermänniglich zurichten / vnd für Schaden zuhüten wiss
 sen wird. Geben in Unserer Stadt Wien / den ersten Januarij /
 Anno Sechzehenhundert Neun vnd Dreyßig/ Unserer Reichs/ deß
 Römischen im Dritten / deß Hungarischen im Vierzehenden / vnnnd
 deß Böhaimbischen im Zwölfften Jahr.

Ad Mandatnm Sac. Cæs.
 Majestatis proprium,

Joh. Seiberich Vlscher.

Epitaphium oder des guten Geldes Grabschrift.

Du Geigenfidel auff der Saan /
Was hebstu auß mir dem Gelb an?

Ites noch nicht genug der zeit /
Anfere vnd Weiden schaffet.



Wird doch leut also verführt /
So ara/verschlagen en durchsuchet /
Als die Gottlose Juden seyn /
In den Münzhandel gefest ein /
Sind die ärgsten Feind in der Welt /
Die in grund richen das gute Geld /
Nicht kempfen Ehrlich /
Der Träger ist /
Nur ein sehr gut Geld bring ich dir /
Was gibst du auff den Wechsel mir /
Auff den Gulden Hölzer zu lohn /
Und Da hastu 30. Kreuzer schon /
Christ: Wi auff den Gulden Pfenig im brauch /
Und Hier hastu 30. Kreuzer auch /
Christ: Was auff den Gulden Kreuzer her /
Und Leben Pagen gib ich nicht dir /
Christ: Was auff den Gulden halbe Pagen /
Und Hier hast 12. Pagen in den 2. an /
Christ: Was gibst du auff ein Gulden Droschen /
Und Einck haß nicht hart drin droschen /
Christ: Auff ein R. 6. Kreuzer was gibst dar /
Und Da hastu einen Gulden bar /
Christ: Auff ein Gulden Drey Pfüner wol /
Und Ein Gulden 5. Pfaffert für wol /
Christ: Auff 2. Gulden Schöpf Pfüner was /
Und Vier Gulden 30. Kreuzer für das /
Christ: Was gibst du auff ein 12. Pfüner zur /
Und Dreyßig Kreuzer ist mir zu purh /
Christ: Auff ein Reichthaler was gibst ein /
Und Fünf Gulden 30. Kreuzer sein /
Christ: Was gibst du auff ein Guldgulden mir /
Und Fünf Gulden 30. Kreuzer dar /
Christ: Endlich was gibst du auff Ducasen zu /
Und Ich Gulden 30. Kreuzer darzu /
Reicher Gelder nicht gibst /
Darauff darnach zu rich dich /
Komm als zu mir wider in samme /
Ich zahl dir wol bey meiner Scham /
Epitaphium D Ehrlich /
D guten Geldes Begräbnis ist.

Scham an der Gottlich Christ vorab /
Tragt selbst das gute Geld in dem Grab /
Das ist der Juden Zeuffels Zeit /
Zu lohn sollt sein ein starker Preiz /
Auff ihren Kücken für ein Pater /
Sag D leser ist es nicht wahr /
Der Geigenfidel der redt Ehrlich /
Der Wucherer des Geldes Verächter /
Die bringens den Juden achtsen /
Wo konnten sie das Geld sonst wille /
Die wettens in den Wechsel /
Gott wettens in die Höl dahin /
Ist ob Gott will nicht lang dahin /
Wird die Höl sein ihr aller Weim /
Wird sie dessen nicht besorgen /
Der Wuchhang heit ihr Sach verborgen /
Discordia was sein andent /
Dieser Welt widerwärtigen /
In hohen vnd Niedern Stand /
Unter des das gute Geld in hand /
Schont umt hüß / das es muß von /
Den Juden schändlich zu grund gahn /
Iares schreyt vber die dandba /
So ihnen den Gewalt haben geben /
Nur dem obacemtem Kuchang /
Har die Berechtigtan Gang /
Dann ihr Klarheit will nicht hinein /
Dieben den Zeuffels Juden seyn /
Dumme sie als der Edel Schach /
In der schönen Welt hacten blag /
Weil die Welt mit Vnreden steh /
Die zeit der Juden Zeitfortacht /
Schreut aber Gott aus Regimant /
Der Juden Zeuffels Geld sich endt /
Ihr wider Ehrlich der Vosphat /
Mit althier Angerechneten /
Ihr ungerichtet Geld zumal /
Gemacht von allerley Metall /
Wer das nach ihnen schmeigen thut /
Bringt darnon kaum 2. Pfennig zu.

Gelt das nicht in bestanden sein /
Gegen dem guten Gelder gemein /
Die spurt man ihren Leid vnd Haß /
Gegen der Christenheit eben maß /
Ihren hat man nicht erkannt /
Mit ihrem taubden Geld verkennt /
Man nicht in aller Welt vermehrt /
Dak kein Berechnung nicht /
Warum sie hat keinen Fortgang /
Das macht der Zeit Zeuffels vmbhang /
Der in allem nicht schafft das Gut /
Dap Gott den Sühang hinweg thut /
Sich der misst das Gut mit Vntem /
In dak es sein letzte wegen sey /
Hinder ihm schick der drauf das Präz /
Ach daß sein Geld auch darob leg /
Sampf seiner Wund tief in der Erden /
Daß der Wundlich an ihm war soll werden /
Daßer Träger / Graber / Todtengraber /
Komm in Höllichen finstern Dieber /
Was wündschich / Sie haben mehr Platz /
Weder man ihnen wündschen mag /
Es ist vnd den Armen zu thun /
Dem thut es ebelt darob gahn /
Weil die gut Münz stark geht in grund /
D Christ bist Gott herigelt gesund /
Daß er vnd laß nach diesem jor /
Die Amilische Münz wider fahen /
Darduch vns Christen mit Wohlthat /
Erfauft vnd erlöset hat /
Von der Münz des Zeuffels die zeit /
Als der verführten Vnwarheit /
Deswegen laß vns bitten gleich /
Den lieben Gott im Himmelreich /
Daßer abend diß vnemach /
Das wird gedrukt den 1. den 1. nach /
Zu Augsburg bey Daniel Wanaier Kupf /
festschreien dem Verthabrucker /
Thor.

Reduced facsimile of a Satirical Sheet referring to the Debasement of Coinage at the Time of the Thirty Years' War.

children, that they might devour them. These horrors are no fables, but facts reported by eye-witnesses hundreds of times.

In consequence of famine and unwholesome food, typhus fever and other contagious diseases broke out and carried off what the sword had spared. During the siege of Augsburg by the imperialists in 1634, 60,000 citizens and country-people, who had taken refuge within the walls, died. In Munich alone, then a town of only moderate size, 15,000 people perished within a year. The fever penetrated the remotest districts and most secluded mountain valleys. On all roads were to be seen "pest chapels," erected to deliver the land from the terrible scourge. It was at this time that the natives of Oberammergau, in Upper Bavaria, with the same object, instituted the Passion Play.

No wonder that the result was an enormous decrease in the population in all parts of Germany, the effects of which continue to this day. It has been estimated that the population of the empire in 1648 was only a third of what it was in 1618. In Brandenburg, by 1630, many cities were so nearly desolate that half of the houses were uninhabited, and the severest devastations were yet to come. Berlin, which suffered comparatively little from the war, numbered at its close not more than three hundred burghers. In Saxony, the wolves multiplied to such an extent that they entered the villages and even the smaller towns in bands. In Dresden, the entire suburbs were torn down or burned; the city itself contained only the fifteenth part of its former population. In Thuringia, whole districts lay in ashes; the younger men had been drafted off to the war, in which most of them had perished, while the older people had either fled or succumbed to pestilence and the hardships of war. In the county of Henneberg, for example, the population had sunk from 61,000 to 16,000, and even at the present day many towns have not recovered the population which they had in 1618. In Nassau, the villages dwindled away to a few houses and were often entirely deserted. In Wiesbaden, the market-place and many streets were overgrown with thorns and brush, so that hares and partridges bred among them. Other streets had disappeared entirely and become merged in the forest. In Franconia, the depopulation was so great that every man was allowed to take two wives, and no man under sixty could enter a monastery. In Würtemberg, 312 clergymen died in one year, and at Christmas, 1635, over 100 churches were without priests. Many other cases could be cited to illustrate the universal desolation at the end of the Thirty Years' War.

A contemporaneous work, *Excidium Germaniæ*, depicts the condition of the country as follows: "One may travel forty miles without

seeing man or beast, except that in a village here and there you find an old man and a child or two old women. In all the villages, the houses are filled with the stench of carcasses—man, wife, children, servants, horses, swine, cows and oxen, lying intermingled, slain by pest and hunger and gnawed at by wolves, dogs, and carrion-crows, because there is no one left to bury them.”

How had the German cities, formerly the main seats of German culture, degenerated! Though, since the time of the Reformation, they had lost much of their earlier political importance through the continually increasing power of the territorial princes, they had remained comfortable and industrious, and at the beginning of the war were the seats of a pleasant social life. Their edifices rose stately and strong within their tower-crowned walls, their streets were well paved, and their water-supply and drainage carefully provided for. They were still, in 1618, the guardians of German civilization. But the cities were both morally and materially injured by the debasement of the coinage, even at the beginning of the war. Then the armies began to roll past them, putting a stop to business and industry; next these demanded admission within the walls, and quarters, maintenance, and contributions, the soldiers perpetrating all possible excesses. Finally came the storming and capture of numerous cities, which all but annihilated them for a time. Pestilence and hunger did their fatal work.

Nor did the free imperial cities fare better than the provincial towns. The Hanseatic League also came to an end, King Christian IV. annulling its last privileges in Denmark and Norway. In 1628 it held its last diet, only to announce the breaking up of the ancient union, with the humiliating declaration that “the northern kings are the rulers appointed by God over the seas washing the German coast.” Three cities—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck—which still continued the name of the Hansa, maintained a carrying trade on a small scale, but even of this the lion’s share fell to the foreigners, the traffic being chiefly carried on in Dutch and English ships. Instead of exporting wares, the ships left the harbors of Germany in ballast, and each year fifty or sixty millions of thalers went in this way over the sea, never to be seen again. Individual princes, after the restoration of peace, sought to better the economical condition of their lands; but they did this in accordance with the false views of the mercantile system then prevailing—i. e., with one-sided patronage and artificial promotion of the weaker industries, to the prejudice of that great branch which was then by far the most natural and the most profitable for Germany—namely, agriculture.

The national welfare was checked by unwise restrictions on intercourse and traffic in the interior. Navigation on the rivers was burdened by endless tolls, and was thus rendered impossible for remote distances. Every one of the innumerable little German principalities was hemmed in by almost prohibitive import and export duties. These exactions and impediments to interstate commerce worked all the more harmfully because the empire, split up into so many petty principalities, could not, as against the foreigner, carry out a united commercial policy, nor indeed afford its inhabitants any effective protection against foreign corporations and private merchants. The infinite variety of money, too, and the want of a strict statutory supervision of the various mints, threw further obstacles in the way. The consequence was that foreign products had everywhere the advantage over the native.

The state of the rural districts was even worse than that of the cities. In spite of all restrictions and obligations, the peasants, before the outbreak of the war, were, especially in West and South Germany, in a condition of material prosperity and comfort. Their houses, though simple in construction, were well provided with furniture and conveniences. They possessed many cattle, and horse-breeding was carried on on a more extensive scale than at present. The sheep yielded a fine, universally prized wool, which, when converted into cloths, formed a favorite article of export. The culture of the vine, too, was then common in many districts where it is no longer followed. But after 1618 all this changed. The peasant was first defrauded by the debasement of the currency; then came the burdensome taxes for war-purposes; and finally the armies, as previously described, devastated and desolated everywhere.

How, after the return of peace, were the wretched conditions to be even mitigated? The peasants' dwellings were in ruins, their cattle slaughtered or driven off, their orchards cut down, their furniture destroyed, their money gone. Many discharged soldiers did, indeed, again lay hold of the axe and plough; but they were often possessed by the wild unruly spirit engendered by war, and could not easily reconcile themselves to humdrum every-day village-life. With the purpose of taming these turbulent elements, the greater land-owners drew the bonds of vassalage ever tighter, and the social relations of the peasants became more and more oppressive. The peasant vegetated, penned in like his cattle, kept in awe by his parson through the dread of hell-fire, regularly shorn by his landlord and sovereign, or led off to the battle-field in his own or a foreign country. Nor did the land-owners lie on beds of roses. They lived on their impoverished and wasted possessions, for the most part crushed down by debts and lawsuits. Loans

by which to repair the ravages of war were difficult to obtain, and then only at exorbitant interest. Many nobles had to leave home and court and attach themselves as satellites to their more fortunate brethren.

Terrible as was Germany's material suffering from this cruel war, the intellectual and moral degeneracy was still worse. Pecuniary losses would have been made good with time, had the people's spiritual nature been left uncorrupted. But this was not so; and, even at the present day, the wounds that the Thirty Years' War inflicted on German character are scarcely healed. A turbulent, gross, lawless temper, averse to work of any kind, took possession of all classes in the empire. The life of a highwayman or a vagrant beggar was more congenial to many than the hard constraint of honest labor. In Bavaria and many other places, gypsies, swindlers, and vagabonds of all sorts swarmed in bands over the country. If the elector determined to go on a pilgrimage, he had first, for his own safety, to send out scouring-parties to clear the roads. Since no one was sure of the future, the rule was to make the most of the present. How could noble conceptions, refinement of manners, regard for what is sacred, and a taste for higher enjoyments develop in a period of such vicissitude and barbarism?

Nor did the wild manner of living disappear immediately after 1648. "The misery of the times," says one, "instead of bettering the people, made them worse. Profligacy, impurity, and kindred vices became daily more rampant, and all efforts to check them were vain. This is most clearly proved by the frequent and repeated ordinances against the desecration of Sunday and saints' days, dancing, drunken carousals, night brawls and clamor, cursing, fornication and adultery, excesses at marriages and feasts, etc. How universally did superstition and fanaticism gain the upper hand, while young and old showed the greatest indifference to religion!" Such was the condition of Germany at the close of the Thirty Years' War.

The prevalent degeneracy was aggravated by the fact that the clergy suffered more than almost any other class through the war. On the ministers of an alien faith the soldiers fell with especial fury, and care for the souls of the sick carried off numbers during the pestilence. The devastation of many universities, combined with the poverty of most congregations, checked the supply of new candidates. Education, too, suffered scarcely less severely. How wretched the condition of the teachers was is shown by ordinances issued in more places than one, interdicting the clergy from employing schoolmasters too often in their domestic service, as in sawing wood and threshing wheat.

A seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of the times was boundless



Sieh an O Leser dieses Bild/
 So schrecklich seltsam, wirst du wild
 Darinn vor Augen wird gestellt/
 Der größte Jammer in der Welt/
 Wie sich dierasend Teufflisch Vott/
 Nach dem sie hat verleugnet Gott/
 Und sich ergeben dem Satban/
 Zusammen sūgt auf diesem Plan/
 Bey finsterner Nächtllicher Zeit
 Allda sucht ein Elende Freud.
 Im finstern Feld an edem Ort/
 In Furcht und Schrecken die vnd dort.

Da der toll blind vnd töricht Hauff/
 Dem Teuffel sich selbst offeret auff/
 Der doch so schrecklich ihn erscheint/
 Daß wer es sieht vor Jammer weint.
 Ist doch kein Fabel noch Gedicht/
 Sondern ein wahrhaftig Geschicht/
 Der Leute die solches han gesehen/
 Wie auch dñs Orts da es geschien
 Man Ehrenhalb verschonen mag/
 Es kommt doch noch wol an den Tag.
 Dann es helt diese Schelmenzunft/
 Auch anderstwo Zusammentunft/

Wieman solches
 Daß daran nicht
 Ertlich auff Gah
 Fahn über hohe
 Andre werden vo
 An diesen schne
 Da sie pflegen de
 Auf seinem böse
 Daß es zu hören
 Wann ein Men
 Sie tanzen/spinn
 Vnterm Balgen

Witches' Sabbath



her vnd lieft/
 roffeln ist/
 n der Luft/
 g vnd Kluft/
 doch verzuckte/
 der verruckte/
 ichans Lieb/
 ung vnd trieb/
 schlich ist/
 in so gar vergift.
 schreyen rafen
 dem Schindwasen

Dann wie da ist die Galliard/
 So hat auch der Tanzplatz sein Art/
 Der Sarhan hie Platzmeister ist/
 Dem folgt der ganze Hauff zur frist/
 Bis er sie in die Höll hinein
 Bringt vnd führt in die Ewig Pein.
 Hie sieht man alte Weiber stahn/
 Die tod Kinder in Körben han/
 Mißbrauchen vnzeitig Geburt.
 Ein andre mit dem Teuffel hubet/
 Die dritte frist vnd säufft sich voll/
 Wird von Höllischem Tranck gank toll.

Auch finden sich Männer herben/
 Damit der Reiben nur gank sen/
 Die Königin das Gift bereit/
 Der Bauer im Eircel ist wol gebeut
 Vom Gspenst so mancherlen Besuche/
 Er kan sich bald erwehren nicht.
 Ins gemein lehrt man da Zauberen/
 All laster Schand vnd Schelmeren/
 O daß der Mensch so gar verruckt/
 Mit Macht seine Verdammnuß sucht/
 Vnd ent mit vollem Sporen streich/
 Ins Höllisch Feuer vnd Ery

extravagance in dress and ornaments, and gluttonous excess in eating and drinking. Innumerable sumptuary laws show the prevalence of the evil, though they appear to have been without effect. In Leipzig, the maid-servants were summoned before the city council for wearing trains and laces forbidden to people of their class, and the gewgaws were torn from them. But such attempts to prevent extravagance were unsuccessful. People thought it better to squander what they possessed in luxury and riotous living than to let it fall into the hands of those who spared nothing. Even the priesthood shared this feeling, and promoted it by encouraging lavish display on high festivals. The higher classes set an example of prodigality and frivolity which found ready imitation among those beneath them. The workman's ancient pride in honest work vanished. The decadence of German manufactures, which has been wrongly ascribed to the modern system of economical freedom, took its origin in the Thirty Years' War.

The coarse skepticism and the struggle after merely material interests, characteristic of the epoch, were perfectly compatible with the densest superstition. The terrors amid which everyone lived beclouded the moral nature of even the best-disposed, and delivered them over to the gloomy frenzy of delusion. Soldiers believed that they could fortify themselves by charms against the enemy's weapons. A whole literature gathered around this "black art"—which was, however, recognized as coming from the devil, and as ultimately fatal to those who practiced it.

In no other age and country did the belief in witchcraft prevail so generally as in Germany at this time. As if the sword, fire, famine, and pestilence had not claimed victims enough, innumerable persons, especially women, fell victims to the popular delusion about witchcraft. The "witch-commissioners" gained renown in proportion to the number of unfortunates whom they caused to be seized and burned. In every village a committee was appointed to bring new delinquents to trial. In three years, from 1627 to 1629, the Bishop of Würzburg caused nine hundred witches to be executed. Nor are we to believe that all these victims were convicted through confessions forced from them by torture. Probably the darkest feature in the whole matter was that many regarded themselves as actually guilty. The horrors of the time and the universal belief in this direful superstition produced hallucinations that convinced many women, young as well as old, that they really had dealings with the evil one and had attended the "witches' Sabbath" (PLATE VIII.). Even the Swedes, who came to Germany untainted by the superstition, became infected by the delusion, and returned to kindle the fires of torture in their own land.

It was only natural that the protracted civil war should destroy the last relics of national feeling still lingering in the hearts of the German people. These men, who, with the help of foreigners, had for thirty years been slaughtering one another, no longer had a common fatherland. Was it possible for the Protestants to honor, as their emperor and liege-lord, that puppet of the Jesuits in Vienna, who was the cause of so much of their sufferings? Even the Catholics saw that these Hapsburgs cared only for the power of their house, and not at all for the welfare or greatness of Germany. The feeling of national unity and



FIG. 11. — Group of six gentlemen. Etching by Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677).

loyalty for a national emperor was dead. Catholicism was popular, at most, only in Bavaria and some of the ecclesiastical principalities; on the other hand, the meanness, cowardice, and selfishness of the Protestant princes took from their fellow-Protestants all confidence in them or pride in their cause. Ultimately the religious character of the war was thrust into the background, and the contest became entirely one of political selfishness. How could any feeling of nationality or even of local patriotism arise?

Little could Germany do to withstand the influence of the foreign soldiers and foreign officers, with their male and female hangers-on, who, during the whole course of the war, overflowed the land. The German does not have that hard, reserved nature which enables other nationalities

to resist the effects of the introduction of foreign elements. Even in the Middle Ages, the German nation had opened itself especially to French influences; how much more easy for such to find admission, now that all national life, all community of feeling, all pride in country, were dead among the Germans! The manner of the foreigners was so confident and imposing, and they appeared so much gayer, richer, and happier, that the poor Germans readily believed that everything was better which came from them, and eagerly imitated them in manners, speech, and fashions (Figs. 11, 12).



FIG. 12.—The trio. Etching by Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677).

The special assumption of French modes dates from 1626. Men then began to make themselves ridiculous by imitating the giant perukes of the French court. The beard, that the bean up to this time had cultivated and cared for with extraordinary anxiety, was now shaved off; the monster peruke hung like a cloud over the beardless face. In like manner, the war-mantle gave way to the overcoat, while the jerkin gradually shrank up into the vest. Naturally the modifications in the female attire were not behind those in the male, the most noticeable being the very low cut of the dresses, so as to expose the neck and bust.

Unfortunately this spirit of mimicry prevailed not only in regard to the foreigner, but also in the relations between the different ranks. Every one cringed before his superiors, to lord it more arrogantly over

his inferiors. The princes themselves saw in their subjects only flocks to be shorn to the uttermost. As if in contempt of the reputation of being "good housefathers," so much coveted by their ancestors, they gave themselves up to revels and extravagances of all kinds; at the same time they endeavored to appear as mighty monarchs, surrounded themselves with armies—made up, perhaps, only of a few parade soldiers—and with regular courts composed of a host of ministers, privy counsellors, and diplomats. For the welfare of his subjects, for a rational financial and civil administration, or for watchfulness over public or private morality, the prince now cared nothing. The nobility flocked to his court and crowded in devotion around the ruler, that they might share in his brilliant and delightful existence, and be remembered with some portion of the spoil torn from the hapless subjects.

Counting the collateral lines of the great princely houses, there were then in Germany at least 500 to 600 courtly households and 1500 castles, where were found at least 6000 court offices and charges, every one of which fell to the nobles. With smiles of devotion, these unworthy flatterers bore the humors and insults of the despot and his favorites of either sex, or deliberately placed their wives and daughters as mistresses in his arms. Such men did not trouble themselves about their peasants; the collector of rent and the overseer of labor were all that these saw to remind them of their lord. If the latter chanced to return to his estate, his delight was to pose there as a little sovereign, to surround himself with stringent ceremonies, and to squander his means in splendid buildings and in personal indulgence. The burgher stood in silent awe, not only before the prince, but before his functionaries and officers. He knew no higher ambition than to be admitted into the latter class, and possibly to be dignified with a title. The mania for ennoblement dates entirely from this period. The imperial court took advantage of it to fill its empty coffers by the sale of titles at a fixed tariff. As early as 1654 the diet complained of this vicious practice. No wonder that all interest in municipal or communal affairs died out, and that maladministration prevailed.

The wretched conditions of Germany were not without recognition at the time; this found expression in numberless pamphlets, which, as well as newspapers, were eagerly read. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, newspapers had regularly increased in number in all parts of Germany and Austria. What they lacked in spirit and interest was abundantly supplied by the pamphlets, which exposed and criticised abuses and grievances boldly and incisively, but unfortunately did not have any remedies to propose.

However, even during the dreary times of the war and in the following years efforts at reform were not entirely lacking. There were a few able, conscientious princes, such as Frederick William of Brandenburg, Charles Louis of the Palatinate, and Eberhard of Württemberg; and some honest officials, who thought more of the welfare of the people than of their own personal interests or the smile of ruler, minister, or favorite. Many of the clergy, too, Catholic as well as Protestant, by their piety and devoted self-sacrifice, made up in some measure for the evils that their mutual hatred had brought on the land.

No department suffered more through the disorders of the war than that of learning. Professors and students vanished before the clash of arms, or became soldiers. Helmstedt, in 1624, numbered 400 students; two years later, its lecture-rooms were empty, and its professors, with one solitary exception, had fled. In Heidelberg, in 1626, there were but two students; in Jena, the number of newcomers was reduced by two-thirds. The universal poverty deprived the university teachers of their bread; many betook themselves to foreign lands; others perished in penury. Even among the youths who continued to study an incredible grossness and brutality prevailed, the result of intercourse with the soldiery.

The worst scholastic outrage was the *penalism*, i. e., the systematic abuse of the newcomers (*penials*) by the older students (*scholaren*). These inhuman practices finally became so outrageous that the diet felt compelled to intervene and enact severe penalties. The teaching itself was lifeless and pedantic, enmeshed by the bonds of rigid orthodoxy and servile adherence to precedent. The professors were the first to introduce among their students the unworthy distinction of nobles and civilians.

In the domain of secondary education, John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), a Protestant preacher and teacher of Moravia, made an earnest attempt at reform. Driven from his native land by the Counter-reformation, he led a wandering life in Germany, England, Sweden, Hungary, and Holland. His educational writings gained him great fame, but little gold. Unweariedly he preached a natural and God-fearing system of education as the best cure for the moral diseases of the times. Up to this time, and later also, “eloquence” had formed the main subject of study. His foundation principle was that a knowledge of things should precede the study of words; therefore an acquaintance with actual objects, as those of nature, science, and art, should precede the study of dialectics and rhetoric, so that these might not be a mere word-play without substance and meaning. It is to be regretted that the French fashion

of the times and the incapacity of the teachers suffered the seed sown by Comenius to die without bearing fruit.

Nor was the German love for investigation and practical invention entirely quenched by the Thirty Years' War. In 1650, Otto von Guericke invented the air-pump, and four years later he demonstrated its efficiency before the diet of Ratisbon by the experiment of the Magdeburg hemispheres, so called from Guericke being mayor of Magdeburg. Besides this, he constructed the first manometer and electrical machine. Even the princes occupied themselves much with such experiments, often, however, not so much from an interest in science as from their bent toward alchemy and similar cabalistic studies.

But, on the whole, Germany could not keep pace with Italy, France, the United Provinces, and England, in their extraordinary advances in the sciences: German students in these branches had to seek instruction in foreign universities or from the writings of foreigners. Intellectual efforts found there neither the sympathy of large classes of the community, as in England, Italy, and Holland, nor the steadfast support of a powerful sovereign, as in France. Practical inventions were not encouraged and fostered by a wealthy and enterprising commercial class, so that the main incentive to making them was wanting.

Nor were the consequences of the protracted war less disastrous to the religious life. The scanty germs of improvement which had shown themselves toward the end of the period immediately preceding it were choked. In the Protestant lands, nothing prevailed but a lifeless adherence to the letter; in the Catholic, the Jesuits, with their rigid formalism and tyranny over the intellect, had all power in their hands; while the learned, as we have seen, were either pedants or sought stimulation in foreign lands.

With delight men gave themselves up to the seductive charm of France, particularly in the Protestant territories which were more closely associated with their western neighbors. The German Calvinists maintained a lively intercourse with their French brethren, who, being discomfited and sometimes even persecuted at home, settled in considerable numbers in the congenial German lands. The Catholic districts, on the other hand, found themselves once more in connection with Italy and Spain, and accepted their fashions, customs, and speech. French, Italian, and Spanish expressions made their way into the German language in such profusion that it was soon saturated with Latin elements. The result was that it lost much of its native character, and, especially in the eagerly read newspapers, became a confused medley of tongues. In vain did writers of the better sort bewail the evil, and satirists deride

it. Even special societies were instituted for the maintenance of the purity of the language, but the intellectual poverty and want of literary endowments on the part of most of the members made it impossible for them to exercise any effective influence.

That poetry kept itself pure from this "confusion of tongues" and other affectations was due chiefly to the fact that the national New High German poetry had its origin at this time under the auspices of so clear-sighted and patriotic a man as Martin Opitz. This poet, born in 1597 at Bunzlau in Silesia, was a man who had educated himself, not only by a thorough study of the classics in the schools and universities, but also by intercourse with highly gifted associates and a long sojourn in the free Netherlands. A journey to Paris also contributed to liberalize his mind and polish his taste. He early became famous and was crowned as poet-laureate by Emperor Ferdinand II. Chosen to be secretary and court historiographer by the King of Poland, he died in 1639, of the plague. With justice he bears the name of "father of (New High) German poetry." His earlier poems show a freshness and an originality of genius which he later sacrificed too much to smoothness of form and a slavish imitation of foreign models. His didactic poems we admire chiefly for their occasional descriptions of nature and the power of observation they show. His tragedies, pastoral plays, and operas are long since forgotten, but they had a stimulating effect on his own and the immediately succeeding age.

It is noteworthy that, at the same time with Opitz, an eminent Catholic author, Frederick von Spee, in the introduction to his book of songs, the "*Trutznachtigall*," was contending for the essential principles of Opitz, especially for the avoidance of every foreign or even affected expression. More than Opitz, he shunned all leaning toward foreigners, and his songs, glowing with a fervid but mystical piety, show more true feeling and strike a more popular note than those of his cooler and more restrained contemporary. Himself a noble and lovable Jesuit father, he exhibits the beautiful and attractive side of the life of the Catholic orders. He was the first in Europe to protest in his book, *Cautio criminalis* (1631), against the atrocious persecution of witches, and he met with success.

In accordance with the religious disposition of the time, the Protestant hymnology made itself rather more widely acceptable than the Catholic, and there is a most interesting development in that direction. John Heermann, with his beautiful hymns, was a great comforter of poor and afflicted people. More profound, and yet more popular, than Heermann, is Paul Gerhardt. Never were the relations of the individual to his

Creator more fervently and more effectively depicted than in his sacred songs, several of which have become German classics.

Secular poetry found a worthy representative in the greatest poet of the time—Paul Fleming. Born in 1609, in a parsonage among the mountains which separate Saxony from Bohemia, Fleming attained in his youth a position in the diplomatic service of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and took part in an embassy to Moscow. He then studied medicine in Leipzig, and settled as a physician in Hamburg, where he died in 1640. Fleming came into personal contact with Opitz, and all his life regarded him as his master, but surpassed him in genuine feeling. How sincere and warm an interest he took in the sad fate of his countrymen, and how deeply he deplored their degeneracy, are shown in his lamentation over the “Changing and Timidity of the Present Germans;” how keenly he felt for their literary fame, in his poem, “Against the Contemners of German Poetry.”

If Fleming was the greatest German poetical genius of his time, Andreas Gryphius was the most versatile. Like Opitz, he was a Silesian, born in 1616, and, like him, made several tours abroad. Alternately a teacher and an executive officer of the respectable class, he died in his native city in 1664. A sad personal life and the afflictions of his fatherland have given a melancholy character to most of Gryphius’s creations. In contrast with Opitz, Gryphius’s lyrical pieces express his feelings with great truth and directness, but often with rudeness and in violation of the rules of poetical expression. His comedies are based on actual conditions and express the views of the people, but are often characterized by a rude comic power and unvarnished naturalness. Till Lessing, nothing so good as Gryphius’s comedies appeared in this branch of literature.

The popular bent that shows itself in Gryphius’s comedies is obvious also in the satirists. The Silesian, Frederick von Logau, is, without doubt, the leading epigrammatic poet of Germany. Power and pungency of expression, coupled with a light, airy grace, are finely and wittily united in him. As in the case of many patriotic writers of the period, a frequent subject for his scorn is the predominance of foreign, especially of French, influence.

Though poetry, thanks to the efforts of Opitz and Spee, had well maintained itself, prose had fallen to such a low level as to threaten the very existence of the language. But two prose authors kept it alive by avoiding the general Babel-like corruption—Moscherosch and Grimmelshausen.

Moscherosch, an able Alsatian administrative officer and statesman,

following the example of the Spanish Quevedo, lashed the errors and vices of his times in his "Wonderful and True Visions of Philander of Sittewald" (Fig. 13). His wit, scathing as it is, always echoes the sor-



FIG. 13.—The Court School. From Moscherosch's "Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald."

rows of his soul. His works were, unfortunately, too little adapted for the general public to become the common property of the whole nation, and this was also the case with the popular romances of Christopher von Grim-

melshausen, especially his renowned "*Simplicissimus*," the truest, most comprehensive, and at the same time the most captivating picture of contemporaneous conditions existing in German literature. To this day they are read with the same interest with which they were read two centuries ago, and probably with more instruction. We do not hesitate to pronounce "*The Adventuresome Simplicissimus*" the greatest and most enduring production of the German intellect in the seventeenth century.

Art, during the period of storm and stress, perished utterly. Every condition essential to its existence was lacking—security, wealth, national aspirations, and common traditions. And this at a period when, in the Netherlands, painting had developed on so magnificent a scale and so distinctively that Brabant and Holland almost took their place by the side of Italy.

The Brabant school recognized as its founder and greatest master Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). This illustrious and many-sided genius had freed himself from the fetters of the mannerists that were predominant at home, by a personal study of the great Italian artists of the fifteenth century and especially of the Venetians. The Venetian gorgeousness of coloring and skill in drawing are employed by him to express exuberant strength and joy in life. Delicate natures may be repelled by an occasional obtrusive sensuousness, but his matchless massing of figures and his masterly drawing are overpowering. His works are the most beautiful embodiment of the nature of the Low Countries, with all its excellencies as well as its defects. Ecclesiastical and profane history, animals and portraits, children and landscapes, all formed subjects for his pencil and brush.

Rubens's greatest disciple, Anthony Van Dyck, was of an entirely different nature. He had nothing of the master's superabundance of power nor of his glowing genius, but was refined, sensitive, and without great inward force or self-reliance. At first he was a close imitator of Rubens; then, on his visit to Italy, the Venetian masters had such an influence upon him that his productions are scarcely to be distinguished from theirs. Finally, as court painter to Charles I. of England, he exhibits, in his portraits of the aristocratic court circle, wonderful delicacy of conception, touch, and color. In descriptive pictures, he shows a preference for subjects from the New Testament, which he treated with great feeling. No one among the great Brabant painters gives less expression to the sturdy character of the Low Countries than this delineator of the English nobility.

To the brilliancy and richness of coloring and the aristocratic joy in pomp and splendor of the Brabant school, the masters of homely repub-

liean Holland were strangers; but, in common with it, they had a keen feeling for what is real, they identified themselves affectionately with nature, they possessed a faculty for vigorous execution and accurate study of details. In these Protestant lands, which broke with church traditions, art began with simple portraiture and landscapes. In these two branches, Van der Helst and especially Frans Hals distinguished themselves by likenesses characterized by breadth and boldness of touch. Frans Snyders, with power and talent, depicts hunting and battle scenes. John van Goyen founded, in a simple and pleasing way, the landscape school, where the favorite scenes are the wide-spreading, well-watered plains of his fatherland; in these subjects, he was followed by his scholars.

And then came the master, Rembrandt van Ryn (1607–1669), who combined in himself all the tendencies of his predecessors, and carried them higher and farther. Rembrandt began by slavishly copying his models, without advancing from them to nobler and more beautiful forms. But his genius soon asserted itself, and, while he always took nature as his teacher, he strove to idealize her and to bring out the living principle concealed in her. Wonderful are his light-effects, sometimes clear and dazzling, sometimes in soft *chiaroscuro*. The great painter knew how to inspire even the most trifling objects with life. Like Rubens, he was many-sided in the subjects of his art, but he had no taste for mythology and treated it only from a coarse, comic point of view.

Rembrandt belonged to that class of geniuses who are so supremely original that they leave no disciples. But the Dutch school continued to develop independently, particularly in landscape painting. In this the tone was given by Jacob Ruysdael (1625–1682), an artist of the first rank. Nature worked on his spirit with a deep and often passionate effect, and yet his creations show a subtle knowledge of the laws of perspective and correct and delicate drawing. A spirit of melancholy seems to pervade the unique creations of this great painter-poet, who writes elegies upon canvas.

A pure creation of the Netherlands is the modern school of *genre*-painting, which has never been equaled, either in freshness and originality of conception or in delicacy of execution. The founder of this school was Peter Breughel, who lived at the end of the sixteenth century. In the hands of the younger Breughel and the elder David Teniers, it threatened to take a fantastic and extravagant turn, often verging on the absurd. The younger David Teniers (1610–1690) restored it to its proper domain. He is, indeed, the true creator of the low-life *genre*-painting of the Dutch school. He elevates the most

vulgar subjects by his fine sense of humor, his masterly coloring, and dexterous light-effects, and infuses a spirit of poetry into the most ordinary events of everyday life.

Gerard Terburg (1608-1681) was the gifted painter of the life of the higher classes, whom he shows in all their splendor and dignity—the stately, richly bedecked gentlemen, and the dames rustling in white silken robes and flashing with costly jewelry. Terburg, the first of this school, was also the best. Next to him ranks the somewhat younger Gerard Dow, and the two were the predecessors of a long series of workers in the same field.

What a wonderful race was this little people of the Netherlands! The same generation that produced numerous painters of the first and second rank brought Dutch literature to its highest stage of perfection, a stage never again to be reached. Amsterdam was at this time the literary centre where Hooft, Vondel, and Huygens worked together. Peter Hooft (1581-1647), a scion of an illustrious patrician family, had cultivated his taste by many long foreign tours. His object was to combine the charm of Italian expression with the northern richness of thought. Thus he was the father of Dutch prose and poetry. It must, however, be acknowledged that in the latter field he showed less originality than he did as historian of his country. Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) justly enjoys the fame of being the first lyric poet of Holland, while as a dramatist he became a mere imitator of French models. Finally, Constantine Huygens, father of the renowned physicist, distinguished himself as an historian, but his poems have sunk into oblivion.

More popular was Jacob Cats (1577-1660), a Zelander, who played an important part in the public affairs of the United Netherlands. His writings, spoken of as the “Book of Father Cats,” held their place, along with the Bible, for centuries in the Dutch and Flemish homes.

Holland’s renown for classical philology was maintained by such men as Heinsius, Hugo Grotius, Rutgers, and Vossius. This country was, indeed, at that time regarded as the true fatherland of learning. Meursius founded the study of Greek antiquities; Erpenius of Gorkum and Golius raised the study of Arabic to the rank of a science.

On the original and suggestive discoveries of Kepler in regard to the eye, the Dutch based others of a practical nature. Jens Lippershey, a spectacle-maker of Middelburg, devised the telescope in 1608; Cornelius van Drebbel, the microscope. About 1620, Willebrord Snell discovered the law of the refraction of light.

The great jurist, Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot), the father of international law, was born at Delft, in 1583. As a child, he attracted the

notice of his country and of foreign potentates, and at the age of fifteen received a golden chain from Henry IV. of France. His sympathy for the Arminians brought him into prison, but his self-sacrificing wife was successful in bringing about his escape. He fled first to France, then to Sweden, whence he went as Swedish ambassador to Paris. On his return toward Sweden, he was overtaken by death at Rostock (1645). He was a many-sided man, thoroughly versed in classical lore.

His literary labors were by no means confined to jurisprudence. He composed also theological, historical, and philosophical treatises, as well as poetry. His book, *De veritate religionis Christianae* ("Concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion"), is regarded as the best of the later defences of Christianity. But his greatest work, and that by which he has won undying fame, is his "Three Books concerning the Law of War and Peace" (*De jure belli et pacis libri tres*), 1625. This great work marked a new epoch in international relations—one might say, in politics—because it sets forth for the first time the system of international law. It is characterized not only by a truly philosophical spirit and a humanity rarely found in those days, but also by the strictest scientific treatment, absolute freedom from party-spirit, and a dignified and judicial calmness elevated above all the influences of the times. It at once claimed and received the most marked attention, and even to-day it is by no means obsolete.

The life of Holland in the seventeenth century—civic, religious, and artistic—was sound and vigorous and in melancholy contrast to that of the kindred race in Germany during and after the Thirty Years' War.

Spain, also the adversary of Holland, was in a state of rapid and constant decay. As early as the beginning of the reign of Philip IV. (Fig. 14), a member of the Cortes had presented a memorial to him, which summarized the sad condition of the country as follows: "Many places are depopulated and forsaken; the churches dilapidated; the houses in ruins; estates lost; the fields uncultivated; the inhabitants, with wives and children, on the highways, wandering from place to place in search of work, nourishing themselves with the grasses and roots of the fields. Others emigrate to lands where the subjects are not crushed down by taxes." The well-meant attempts at reform by the "Count-Duke" Olivarez were effectually frustrated by the many constant wars which the king believed himself compelled to undertake for the maintenance of religion and the glory of the "illustrious house of Austria."

Herein the nation and the nobles were of one mind with their ruler; they still looked upon Spain as the first country of the world. Wars were waged in Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Catalonia, Hungary,



FIG. 14 Philip IV., King of Spain. Painting (about 1625) by Diego Velasquez de Silva (1599-1660). Florence, Pitti Gallery.

Bohemia, Poland, and Franche-Comté. The burdens of war were all the more intolerable in that, since the expulsion of the Moors, industry and commerce had been half paralyzed. Furthermore, trade with all the lands with which Spain was at war—that is, with half of Europe—was forbidden to her people. At the same time, the wars emptied the public

coffers and necessitated continual loans. The revenue, which in 1634 amounted to 18,000,000 ducats, of which only 7,000,000 had to be expended to pay the interest on the national debt, was now almost entirely swallowed up in paying the interest on and redeeming the national loans.

If Olivarez, to raise money, suddenly doubled the nominal value of the metallic currency, or, to make handiwork cheaper, made the sale of grain compulsory at prices fixed by authority, his measures only increased the evil. As the land became poorer, the imposts rose higher, for the war swallowed incredible sums. Already Olivarez, in despair at the drying up of the regular sources of revenue, had appealed to the magnanimity of private persons. While the minister was scarcely able to bear up longer under the burden of affairs, the king's mind was occupied with amusements of all sorts—festivals, ballets, bull-fights, theatrical performances.

The authority of the Cortes, like that of the monarch, was only nominal, for Philip always signed whatever Olivarez laid before him. One thing is certain: the minister thought only of the real good of the state, and neither enriched himself nor allowed those about him to enrich themselves. With a firm hand he held the grandees in check, and permitted them neither to plunder nor defraud the country. On the other hand, they were free to indulge in enjoyments of all kinds, for which the king set the example. Sexual immorality was almost universal in Spain; from it resulted brawls, abductions, and assassinations without number. In Madrid alone, 110 murders occurred within one week.

For two decades, Olivarez maintained himself as uncontrolled master of Spain; then, when his overstrained system of rule broke down, when Portugal and Catalonia rose in revolt, when France was winning victory after victory in the Netherlands and in Italy, and when state bankruptcy became inevitable, the blame for all these misfortunes was heaped on his head. The queen, Isabella of Bourbon, whose private life was not above suspicion, placed herself at the head of the enemies of Olivarez, and at length, in January, 1643, just a month after Richelieu's death, prevailed upon the weak and irresolute monarch to banish his favorite to his estates. The joy at Olivarez's overthrow was universal. A placard was found attached to the gate of the royal palace, saying: "Now thou wilt be Philip the Great indeed, for the Count-Duke will no longer make thee little." The short-sighted multitude always believes that a change will bring a better state of affairs.

It was probably fortunate for Olivarez that, a year and a half later, death removed him beyond the power of his enemies. His best vindication is that matters became worse in Spain after his fall. At

first the king, to the joy of his loyal subjects, declared his purpose of conducting the government himself; but, as he had little success, and, through the death of his queen and of the heir-apparent, Balthasar Charles, was left without family life, he fell back into his former wasteful and dissolute habits. His increasing sickliness, aggravated, as in the case of most of the members of the house of Austria, by immoderate eating, decided him to give up the conduct of public affairs, and entrust them to Don Luis de Haro, a well-meaning, but only moderately gifted minister. Friendly and complaisant to everyone, he was, above all, a man of peace; but, in spite of his good-will, he had little practical ability, and was little acquainted with foreign affairs.

In the deplorable condition of Spain, even a great genius could scarcely have changed matters for the better. A navy was no longer maintained, for it would have become merely a spoil for her enemies; her merchant marine, on account of the prohibition of intercourse with England, France, Venice, and Portugal, had practically ceased to exist. The incessant changes in the value of money, the wretched condition of the highways, and the exorbitant taxes destroyed whatever was left of the domestic trade of Spain. Her moral degeneration more than kept pace with her material decadence. All was corrupt, from the minister and viceroy down to the village bailiff, and from the general to the sergeant. No wonder that the unpaid soldiery renounced their service—that every man regarded the state, that made such inordinate demands, as his enemy, for which he ought to do nothing voluntarily, but which he was justified in defrauding to the utmost of his ability.

Literature and art alone were not affected by the general spirit of decay. One of the favorite amusements of the court was dramatic representations, in which the queen herself and the princesses took part. Indeed, the dramatic instinct was deep-rooted among the people. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lope de Vega stood on the pinnacle of his fame, but was shortly displaced by Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600–1681). Calderon wrote comedies, dramas, tragedies, and sacred plays (*autos*), all with the same richness of thought, fertility of imagination, and ease of versification. Calderon's forte does not lie in subtle delineation of individual character; but he knows how to let the voice of nature speak out clear and true, even in its deepest, most exciting and most affecting tones. The Spain of his time—especially that of the higher orders, with their sensitive feeling of honor, their reckless courage, their pomp of speech, their love for gallant adventures, and their unbounded devotion to the church—lives, acts, and speaks before us in the works of this poet.

But there was not only dramatic poetry. The brothers Argensola were eminently happy in their imitations of Horace, showing taste, clearness, and a feeling for pictorial beauty. Quevedo wrote his satirical "Visions" and comic romances, such as "The History and Life of the Great Sharper." Villegas's "Love-Songs" are not destitute of charm, but they are marred by exaggerated and forced expressions and figures.

Luis de Góngora sedulously developed this far-fetched, affected manner—"the cultivated style"—and thus became the founder of a formal school known as Gongorists. No word preserved its natural sense, no sentence its natural structure, no thought received natural expression: all was novel, inverted, forced into unusual forms, mixed up with foreign-like elements, and embellished with monstrous metaphors. Thus the inauguration of the rapid decadence of Spanish literature falls immediately after the period of its proudest bloom—in the time of Philip IV., who himself took a lively interest in the poetry of the "culturists."

The king interested himself also in painting, and was a frequent visitor in the studios of the great artists who then raised Spanish painting to its height. Their art was characterized by an ardent religious feeling. Full surrender of self to the divine, monkish asceticism, consuming zeal for the faith—such are the favorite subjects of the Spanish artists, whose work is marked by strong coloring and skill in gradation of shades. They stand upon the shoulders of the Venetians, whose types they modify in a way to make them national. De las Rocas and Francisco Herrera were the first to implant these tendencies in the school of Seville; Francisco Zurbaran (1592–1662), the first to give them full expression.

From the same school came Diego Velasquez de Silva (1599–1660), a Sevillian, although his exact study of the Netherlanders and his long sojourn in Italy enabled him to break the bonds in which his fellow-artists lay, and gave him a wider range. The silvery, airy coloring peculiar to him diffuses a charm of sentiment over his pictures. Landscapes, *genre* pieces, as well as religious subjects, occupied his brush, till his career was ultimately determined by Philip IV. appointing him his court painter. After this, he devoted himself to painting the portraits of persons of eminence; and this work, in his hands, acquired a more dignified, imposing, and noble character than in those of the Netherlanders. In coloring, Velasquez combined the excellencies of the Venetian and Netherland schools. He and Murillo, who was born two decades later, constitute the most brilliant double star in the artistic firmament of Spain.

Sculpture, too, was transplanted to Spain by the admirable Berruguete, in the first half of the sixteenth century, and found there, especially in the south, a race of zealous devotees reaching down to the present day. The chief names are those of Montañés (died 1649), an artist of the first rank, and his more famous pupil, Alonso Cano of Granada (1601-1667), who, like Michelangelo, was sculptor, architect, and painter, having studied painting in Seville. Philip IV. brought him, while still a young man, to court, appointing him superintendent of the royal edifices and court painter. He was especially eminent as a carver of captivatingly beautiful statuettes in painted wood. Thus literature and art gilded the waning greatness of Spain, and lent to its death-throes something grand and attractive. Spanish science had long since died in the stifling embrace of the Inquisition.

Italy was, in many respects, in political dependence on Spain. And yet the two countries were very different from each other in their intellectual and social development. The victory of the exclusive and persecuting party in the Catholic church had, indeed, impeded the intellectual advance of Italy, but had not fully checked it. For this, the country was mainly indebted to the growing mildness of disposition, especially among the better orders, which imperceptibly removed their weapons from the hands of the Inquisitors.

After a moment of grim and bloody reaction, the whole nation, even the priesthood, gave itself up too completely to the soft charms of art and poetry to think any longer of heresy-hunts and *autos-da-fé*. The fact, too, that the petty tyrants gradually disappeared and made room for an ampler national life, in which truer ideas of statesmanship were comprehended and realized, contributed still further to humanize popular manners. Though criticism of religion and the state was severely punished, intellectual and spiritual development was not systematically restricted as in Spain, but was, instead, fostered under the sure but mild guardianship of laws impartially dispensed and observed by absolute, but not despotic, rulers. The whole people, even the very poorest and most ignorant, were carried away with enthusiasm over the productions of the great poets and artists of the sixteenth century, and promised their successors honor and wealth.

When the dread of a great Franco-Spanish war vanished, on the death of Henry IV. of France, and the peace-loving Philip III. ruled in Spain, a period of quiet and happy development seemed to dawn for Italy. Even the Spanish administration in Naples, under Lemos and Osuna, encouraged study; the university of that city, enlarged and improved by accession of professors from all the rest of

Italy, once more acquired an authoritative place in the domain of learning.

The hope of such a period of peaceful prosperity was not fully realized. The restless ambition of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, the long-protracted Valtelline affair, and later the war for the Mantuan succession disturbed the repose of North Italy, but Central and Lower Italy enjoyed nearly a half-century of peace which was rarely broken.

The only person who occasionally interrupted this condition was Urban VIII., who seemed to desire to revive the papal policy of the first half of the sixteenth century. He combated the German and Spanish Hapsburgs, though they were the champions of Catholicism against heresy; an open rupture occurred on this point, in the college of cardinals, and, amid the applause of the gathering, a Borgia was bold enough to charge the pope with religious indifference, a charge echoed by the outer world. His nepotism, too, was notorious. Many bulls of his predecessors forbade the endowment of relatives of the pope with principalities and other high offices at the cost of the church; nevertheless, the Barberini were now laden with such dignities and with unmeasured wealth.

With their greatly swollen revenues, the relatives of Urban VIII. were able to purchase the ancient fiefs of the Colonna, Orsini, Sforza, and other illustrious families. With a view to prolonging the influence of his kin beyond his own life, Urban conferred on them forty-two cardinalates. Finally, that nothing might be wanting to recall conditions so little in accord with the age, Urban VIII., like an Alexander VI. or a Julius II., again took up the plan of conquering the world.

Of all the principalities that had been carved out of the States of the Church, every one had been reabsorbed save only Urbino, of which the Della Rovere (the family of Julius II.) were rulers. Their sway was mild and favorable to art. Here Raphael had been born and received his initiation into art. Bembo had taken up his abode here; and on the little Umbrian state there still lingered, as it were, the after-glow of the sixteenth century.

Duke Francis Maria II., now old and childless, could no longer offer effectual resistance to Urban when he demanded the admission of papal troops into his fortresses. When the prince died in 1631, the church forthwith took possession of the land, much to the sorrow of its inhabitants. This success emboldened Urban to proceed with open violence against another family which owed its position to papal nepotism, the Farnese. This race, descended from Pope Paul III., ruled over not a papal, but an imperial fief—namely, Parma. Duke Odoardo, a coarse, passionate, and unpopular man, held also the duchy of Castro, in the

States of the Church. The Barberini craved it, while the pope hoped to unite Parma and Piacenza with the States of the Church. Under entirely frivolous pretexts, his soldiers in 1641 occupied Castro, and in 1642 Urban put the duke under the ban of the church.

But Odoardo Farnese found support in the other Italian princes, who for a long time had been incensed over the grasping policy of the Holy See. There was scarcely a state that Urban had not, in his arrogance, insulted. But a short time before, he had laid the senators of the peaceful little republic of Lucca under excommunication, because it had dared to punish with imprisonment the robber brother of a cardinal. The republic had turned for protection to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This prince, Cosmo II., was resolved to endure no further act of violence on the part of the pontiff, and organized an alliance for the protection of the Farnese, of which the Este of Modena, as well as Venice, were members. War broke out between these secular powers and the head of the church. Urban VIII., however, in the spring of 1644, was ready to sign a disadvantageous peace which set Odoardo free from excommunication and replaced him in Castro. This humiliating defeat showed the weakness of the power of the pope, who soon afterward, in July, 1644, died.

The situation was but little improved under his successor, Innocent X. The Barberini, notwithstanding the number of their creatures, were unable to procure the choice of one of their own family by the conclave, and had therefore consented to the election of Giovanni Battista Pamfili, which, from the slight importance of his family and from his age (72 years), seemed to imply no menace. But the family of the new pope, precisely on account of their lowly condition, were determined to enrich themselves as quickly as possible; and this could best be effected at the cost of the universally hated Barberini, who therefore had to leave Rome, their offices, palaces, and wealth, as a prey to the new house. As they had favored France, the new government took the side of Spain, and a complete change of policy was the consequence. A reconciliation was effected with the Italian states, especially with Venice and the Medici. But the internal misrule remained unchanged. Personally, Innocent X. was honorable, well-meaning, and industrious, and earnestly sought to restore order and justice in his dominions. But he was weak with age, and so completely subservient to his relatives, that nepotism under him was as scandalous as under his predecessor. Only one ray of fortune gilded his rule. Odoardo Farnese so misused his success in regard to Castro, and made himself so universally hated, that Innocent was able to take forcible possession of the contested fief without the new duke, Ranue-

cio II., finding any support in the other Italian princes. Otherwise the gray-haired pontiff was so afflicted and perpetually irritated by the turmoils and unseemly dealings of his family as to become a burden both to himself and to others. Innocent died in 1655, to his own relief and that of all the world.

Under such popes the high office conferred little authority, whether ecclesiastical or political. The great religious wars had been decided without the co-operation of the popes—nay, almost contrary to their wishes. The papal administration was wretched; debts were so enormous that the interest upon them swallowed up the whole income of the papal states; so that the cost of the court, the executive, and the army had to be met by the pope's ecclesiastical income and constant new loans. The nobles, once warlike and fired with the spirit of enterprise, were now utterly effeminate and cared only for pomp, titles, magnificent palaces, and multitudes of idle servants; such extravagances had lessened power and multiplied debts. The old mediæval families were thrust more and more into the background before the papal families of plebeian origin—the Borghese, Chigi, Pamfili, and Barberini. These led a brilliant life in the capital, constituted a formal court, set the fashions for Rome, and exercised the most important influence in the election of new popes. The government of the church was, in consequence, more uniform, milder, weaker, and more inclined to peace.

Of the other Italian states, Tuscany, in its peaceful and uneventful quietude, comes scarcely at all into notice; Genoa, but little; Venice, somewhat more; Savoy, most of all.

The republic of Genoa had, through the reform measures of 1575 and 1576, acquired a degree of freedom such as was scarcely to be found elsewhere in Europe. The privileged classes had become so comprehensive as to include every well-to-do citizen; the power of the different magistracies was accurately defined; personal freedom and liberty of speech were practically unlimited. But the Genoese government seemed to have abrogated tyranny and exclusive privileges, only to fall into lethargy and weakness. A revolt of the *popolani* (the democracy) was planned in 1628 with the connivance of and with promises of help from Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, their aim being the murder of the senate and nobles and the establishment of a thoroughly democratic *régime*. But the conspiracy was discovered shortly before the contemplated outbreak and punished by the execution of the ringleaders. One can still see, running in a wide curve along the heights which enclose the city, the powerful forts then erected for defence against the Savoyard. Shortly afterward peace was restored, and, for half a century, Genoa was

at liberty to engage in commerce and financial transactions in perfect peace.

Venice had so far as possible maintained its policy of peace, but was always opposed to its three ancient adversaries—the church, the house of Hapsburg, and the Turks. The papacy, by repeated illegal demands, caused constant friction with the Venetian authorities. The chief sensation was caused by the murderous assaults made on Fra Paolo Sarpi, the undaunted Servite monk, who had fearlessly come forward as the champion of national independence against papal aggrandizement, and had been the ecclesiastical counselor of the senate in its strifes in the years 1606 and 1607. In October, 1607, the daggers of the assassins actually struck him, but he did not receive a mortal wound. As the assassins escaped to the States of the Church and there went about, not only unmolested, but boasting of their deed, people agreed with Sarpi himself in thinking that this was perpetrated *stylo Romanæ Curie* ("with the stylus [dagger] of the Roman Curia"). The Venetian senate protected and honored its theologian after his recovery, a course of action which again gave great offence in Rome. Sarpi died in 1623.

Venice seemed to be still more seriously threatened by the machinations of Spain. The house of Hapsburg had good ground for being displeased with the republic, which had for years carried on war with the rulers of Austria on account of the frontier district, Friuli, and had besides made it possible, through subsidies, for the Duke of Savoy to defend himself against the assaults of Spain in 1616 and 1617. In September of the latter year, a general peace had been concluded. A Spanish dignitary soon appeared, however, who endeavored to nullify the effects of the treaty. This was the Duke of Osuna, Viceroy of Naples, who was assured of the protection of the then all-powerful minister, Uzeda. He maintained, at the expense of the poor Neapolitans, a considerable force, and built in hot haste a large fleet.

From all sides, Venice had warning that Osuna had designs upon her. One of Osuna's officials had repeatedly exclaimed: "This year the Venetians will receive the finest drubbing." At length Osuna sent a number of warships under his own flag into the Adriatic, a sea that the Venetians had been wont to regard as a part of their dominions. It was maintained that he would have landed troops in the city, had not the premature disclosure of his plan prevented its accomplishment. Meanwhile a pirate from Normandy, by the name of Jacob Pierre, had gone over from the Neapolitan service to the Venetian, and had, by pretending to reveal Osuna's secret plans, endeavored to secure an important position for himself. But he was suspected of being in collusion

with Osuna, and his communication was regarded as designed to deceive the signory. The suspicion was well founded, for Pierre had recruited numerous mercenaries who were to rise as soon as the fleet appeared at the mouth of the lagoon.

The whole scheme was completely foiled. First, Osuna's fleet, which attacked the Venetian fleet in time of peace, was utterly defeated near Santa Croce; then some of the parties to the plot disclosed it to the Venetian authorities. The ringleaders were arrested (May, 1618), whereupon hundreds of their accomplices fled to Naples. The Spanish government desired to disavow Osuna's schemes, now that they had failed, and he was recalled. Deeply moved at seeing his hopes thus shattered, the duke resolved on resistance and on making himself independent in Naples. With a view to gaining support, he attempted, in 1620, to form an alliance with the republic whose ruin he had vowed. Venice would have nothing to do with his intrigues; and Osuna, deserted by his soldiers, had to take ship for Spain, where he was cast into prison and where he died four years later.

In Venice, no one believed in the non-complicity of Spain, and the republic opposed both the Spaniards and the emperor in the Mantuan war of succession in 1628, but very ineffectively. Gustavus Adolphus received from her a subsidy against the emperor, but, in the following Franco-Spanish contest, she deemed it more prudent to maintain a discreet neutrality. Two circumstances prompted this policy: first, the Turkish war; next, the ever-increasing disintegration in the Venetian state.

The reciprocal plunderings and conflicts of the ships of the Barbary powers on the one hand, and those of Malta and Leghorn on the other, were constantly producing complications from which Venice, on account of her possessions and garrisons in Crete and the Archipelago, could not keep herself free. In the spring of 1645, over 50,000 Turks landed in Crete and began the conquest of the rich island. The fleets which the Italian states sent to its relief showed themselves as unwarlike and cowardly as the Italian armies of the period. The mercenaries of the republic, on the other hand, mostly Germans and French, fought with determined courage and delayed for twenty-two years the surrender of the besieged capital, Candia.

This long and embittered struggle scarcely did more to weaken the republic than the corruption which ate deeper and deeper into its heart. Failing means, with growing luxury, increasing effeminacy, and the spread of unmanly and unpatriotic sentiments combined to introduce a spirit of venality, treachery, and mistrust among the leading nobles them-

selves, which threatened the very existence of the state founded on this aristocracy. Elections were now determined not by merit, but by bribery, so that the public offices fell more and more exclusively into the hands of a few rich families. Several of the highest officials of the state were convicted of participation in Osuna's plot, and executed or sent to prolonged imprisonment. Besides well-grounded accusations, denunciations of innocent people, from hate or avidity, were frequent, and often led to their unjust condemnation. Under these conditions, the prestige of the republic necessarily waned, and its administration became more and more corrupt.

The most famous among these false accusations was that which caused the death of Antonio Foscari. This man, descended from one of the most respected patrician families of the city, after completing an excellent course of study, served his country in several important offices. While ambassador to England, he fell into strife with his secretary, Muscorno, a vain, ambitious man, who wished to be ambassador himself. Since Foscari would not give way to him, Muscorno went to Venice and accused the ambassador of dishonorable and traitorous conduct. Foscari was recalled, put to trial, but, after three years, was acquitted; his calumniator was condemned to two years' confinement in a fortress.

Foscari seemed fully cleared of suspicion. He became a senator and was again intrusted with important political negotiations. But scarcely was Muscorno at liberty, when, with a hatred quickened by thirst for revenge, he began again to labor for the ruin of his enemy, and this time with success. He made use of Foscari's intimate relations with an Englishwoman of high rank—the Countess of Arundel—whose house was a rendezvous for diplomatists, to accuse him of entering into traitorous correspondence with foreign powers through intermediaries. Since Foscari would not acknowledge any intimate relations with the countess, he could not satisfactorily account for his frequent secret visits to her house, and he was condemned and hanged. Four months later, his innocence was proved. His main accuser, a certain Vano, with one of his accomplices, suffered death, and the memory of Foscari was, with much formal ceremony, pronounced unsullied.

This melancholy event diminished the prestige of the ruling families and made evident the necessity of radical reforms. But when it came to the inauguration of real reforms and more particularly to the limitation of the power of the Council of Ten, the influence of the great families was ultimately strong enough to frustrate any attempts at a change for the better. Discontent and a spirit of rebellion were the unavoidable consequences.

Much sadder was the fate of Savoy, torn by internal and by foreign war. Under Charles Emmanuel I., this duchy had played an important part, and just for this reason both France and Spain were eager to make themselves masters of the land that commanded the Alpine passes between France and Italy. With this aim, they availed themselves of the strife over the regency, which broke out in 1637 on the death of Charles Emmanuel's son and successor, Victor Amadens I., who had left only a minor son. According to the duke's will, the regency was to be conducted by his widow, Christine, sister of Louis XIII. But as she, a foreigner and a Frenchwoman, was unpopular, her brothers-in-law, Cardinal Maurice and Prince Thomas, sought to exclude her from the government. If the princess held the office, Richelieu would be master of Savoy and Piedmont; if, however, the two princes—both of whom were in Spanish pay—obtained it, Olivarez would gain these provinces for his country.

Prince Thomas, with Spanish help, took possession of the capital, Turin; the cardinal occupied the county of Nice, while Christine, along with the young duke, Charles Emmanuel II., held court in Chambéry. Christine then went to Grenoble, to meet Louis and Richelieu and entreat them for help. They sent Count Harcourt to Piedmont; meanwhile Leganes, the Spanish governor of Milan, entered the unfortunate land, and wasted and plundered it (1638). Harcourt defeated his enemy at Casale, and undertook the siege of Turin, whose inhabitants bitterly hated the French and defended themselves gallantly. At length Leganes came to their aid, but all his attempts to storm Harcourt's camp failed. Famine finally compelled the surrender of the city, after a memorable defence of sixteen months (September, 1640). Christine returned to Turin, where the French at once inaugurated a reign of terror for all their adversaries.

Meanwhile the war continued for several years and with great injury to the country. The two princes saw this with sorrow and were forced to recognize that Savoy was treated only as a tool by the rival contestants, whose sole aim was their own interests. In 1642, therefore, they submitted to their sister-in-law, who granted them their positions as governors, as well as a certain degree of co-operation in public affairs. The Spaniards were driven from one after another of the fortresses which they held in Piedmont. The land was left in the most wretched condition, and—what its people felt most keenly of all—in complete dependence on France. Thus did Italy become more and more the battlefield and the spoil of the Hapsburgs and Bourbons.

The political and military decadence of Italy in the first half of the

seventeenth century was reflected in its literature. The authors of this period are far from possessing the power and dignity of their predecessors. Their type was a Neapolitan, Giovanni Battista Marini (1569-1625). Only a few years before his death, he published his great work, "*Adonis*," a needlessly long amatory poem of 45,000 verses. As the subject-matter is effeminate, so the treatment is characterized by a mawkish sweetness and a straining after effect by means of florid hyperbole and overstrained imagery, that, in spite of the beauty of isolated passages, make it intolerable to the modern reader. "*Marinism*" has been charged with being the cause of similar sins in non-Italian authors, but without foundation. The degeneracy and departure from nature, characteristic of the seventeenth century everywhere, produced the same results in foreign lands as in Italy. Among his compatriots, Marini's poetry met with enthusiastic acceptance, an evidence of how exactly it was in harmony with the taste of the time.

The old heroic poems—the poetical romances of chivalry—on the other hand, had lost favor with the public. This perversion of taste Alessandro Tassoni lashes with pungent satire in his "*Rape of the Bucket*," a comic epic of inexhaustible and unoffensive wit. He gives us a caricature of the wars that the Italian states so often carried on with one another, furnishing, as it were, a prototype of the "*War of Castro*."

Gabriel Chiabrera of Savona (1552-1637) belongs, both in point of time and in the bent of his genius, to the sixteenth century. A profound scholar and an ardent admirer of the antique, he knew how to transform the old in accordance with modern Italian ideas. He shows to best advantage in his lyrics, in which he frees himself from the hitherto exclusively dominant Petrarchian type, and is, in a truly original manner, both novel and sublime. In boldness of imaginative power, in lofty flight of genius, in freedom and diversity of form, he has had no equal in his native land, until the nineteenth century. But he had no imitators in his own age; the fashion favored Marini.

The style of elegant prose literature was equally affected by the depraved taste of the times. It would indeed be difficult to name here a single original book of permanent value. Letters, however, on the most varied political, social, and intellectual questions, were then much in favor, and the collections of those of Cardinal Bentivoglio, a distinguished statesman and historian, and of the renowned Galileo, are worthy of mention. Boccacini's satire, "*Miscellanies from Parnassus*," is a racy booklet, that, in its day, enjoyed great popularity. Highly characteristic of the humane but effeminate Italian of his epoch is his outburst

against the military spirit and the usages of war. "War," he says, "is sometimes necessary; but it is yet a condition so inhuman and barbarous, that there are no fine words that can make it tolerable." Boccalini was an enthusiastic republican, and therefore lauds Venice, while he scourges with bitter irony the petty princely tyrants of his time. In his "Touchstone," he develops his political sentiments still more trenchantly; and, in doing so, sheds a clear light on contemporaneous public opinion in Italy. He gives undisguised and wrathful expression to the hatred of all Italians for Spanish domination, for the court of the Catholic king, and for his subjects' arrogant lust for conquest and ascendancy.

The Italy of our epoch boasts of two admirable historical works: Bentivoglio's "History of the War in the Netherlands," and Davila's "Civil War in France." Both writers show the same sobriety of judgment and appropriate style and method that distinguished the great Italian historians of the sixteenth century. Both were intimately acquainted with the lands of which they wrote. Bentivoglio had resided, as papal nuncio, in Brussels and Paris; Davila had held important military and political posts in France and Venice.

Passing from practical to theoretical politicians, we come to the name of Thomas Campanella. This philosophical Dominican monk, persecuted both by the Spanish government and the Inquisition, wrote a treatise on the state, which, along with much eulogy of the papal and French courts, contains many sound observations. His "City of the Sun" is a fantastic sort of political and social Utopia, based in many parts on the Platonic model, but permeated with his own chimerical and mystical philosophy. Hunted incessantly by his numerous foes, this gifted monk died in 1639 in the retirement of the monastery.

Much more practical than Campanella was Antonio Serra, whose work, "On the Causes of Wealth in Gold and Silver," is a work on political economy of high value for the history of this science. It comprises a complete exposition of the so-called mercantile system, which later, through Colbert's example, prevailed throughout Europe for more than a century. This system lays the main stress on manufactures and commerce, which it holds to be much more susceptible of development than agriculture, and which, therefore, ought to be fostered at the expense of the latter. Serra's book (1613) had great influence on the economical and financial opinions of the day. His ideal was the state of Venice, wealthy because it was an exclusively commercial city, as contrasted with poor agricultural Naples.

In the exact sciences, Italy contended for the foremost place with

Germany, which could boast of her Copernicus and Kepler. Cavalieri, professor of mathematics in Bologna, carried the mathematical ideas suggested by the latter great scholar still farther, and, through his work

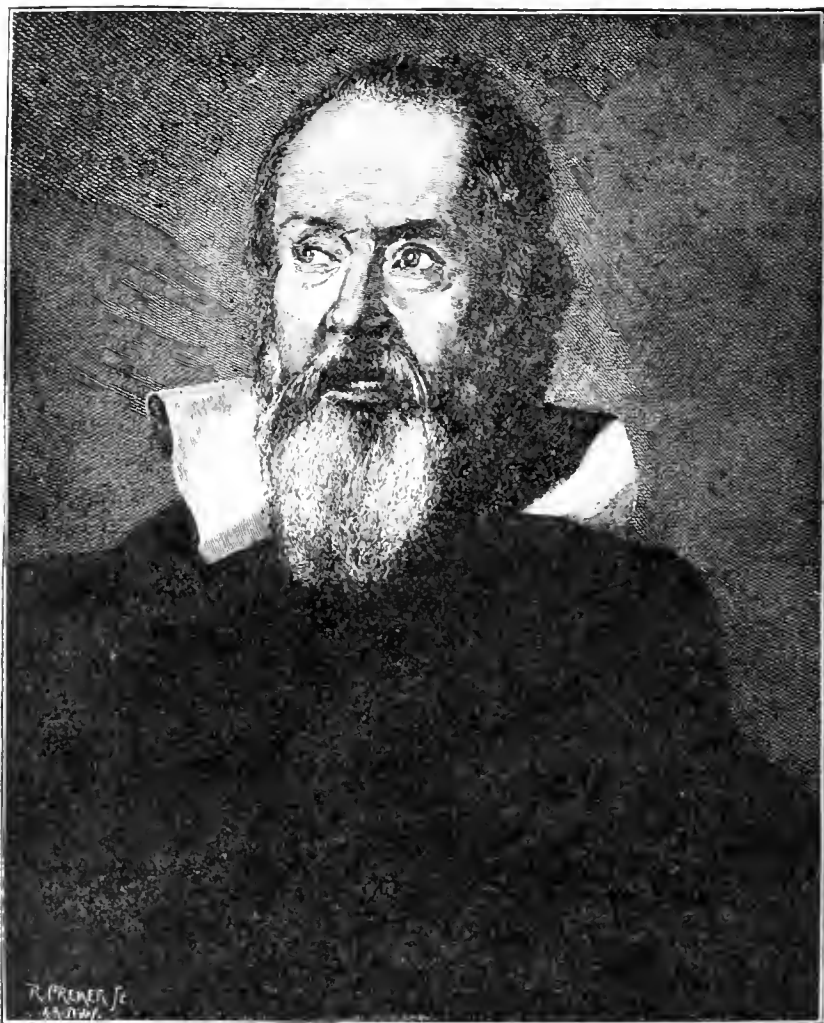


FIG. 15. Galileo. Painting by Justus Sustermans (1597-1681). Florence, Uffizi Gallery.

on the "Geometry of the Indivisibles" (1635), became the father of modern geometry. By this method, he attained much more precise determinations and measurements than had been possible before. Aldrovandi summed up the whole zoological knowledge of his time in compre-

hensive hand-books. Caspar Aselli, professor of anatomy in Pavia, discovered the lacteals of the mesentery that convey the chyle to the blood, and thus play an important part in the alimentation of the animal body.

But the most eminent, most gifted, and most renowned figure in Italian science was Galileo Galilei (Fig. 15). Born at Pisa in 1564, the son of an able mathematician, he studied medicine in his native city, but soon turned to mathematical and physical studies, seeking for these a firm and reliable foundation in mathematics. A remarkable faculty of observation, an acute judgment, and an intellect at once profound and clear, united to qualify him for making his amazing discoveries. The oscillations of a lamp suspended from the dome of the cathedral of Pisa led to the discovery of the equal duration of the oscillations of a pendulum, and with this he associated the most interesting investigations concerning the centre of gravity of bodies. One of the first fruits of his labors was the invention of the hydrostatic balance, by which he determined the specific gravity of bodies.

His most important discoveries were made after he had exchanged the mathematical chair of Pisa for that of Padua. Here his contributions to science were the thermometer, a proportional compass or sector, and the refracting telescope for astronomical investigations (1609). Imperfect as was Galileo's telescope, chiefly from the limited extent of its field, the great man was yet able to make the most astonishing observations with it. He recognized the inequalities on the moon's surface, and rightly attributed these to mountains; he even made approximate calculations of their height. Further, he resolved the milky way and certain other nebulae into multitudes of suns massed in special points of the firmament. He detected four little stars in the neighborhood of Jupiter, and rightly determined them to be satellites of the great planet.

These surprising discoveries he announced in a book which justly bore the title of *Nuncius sidereus* ("The Starry Messenger"). Men at this time took the liveliest interest in astronomy, partly because the theories and writings of Copernicus and Kepler had aroused their curiosity, but probably more because the science was so intimately associated with astrology. The *Nuncius sidereus* attracted universal attention, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by rewarding its author with the richly endowed sinecure of court mathematician, made it possible for Galileo to devote himself in Florence exclusively to his studies. His astronomical discoveries now followed in rapid succession, one of the principal being the earth-like character of the planets, as opposed to the solar nature of the fixed stars.

Galileo's telescopic observations had fully convinced him of the absolute correctness of the Copernican theory of the universe. His advocacy of this brought the wrath of the church upon his head, for it had denounced the Copernican system as heretical. Galileo offered to prove that this system was in perfect harmony with orthodoxy ; but this attempt to compel the church to submission in her own domain only served to embitter her more. Through personal exertions in Rome, Galileo had no difficulty in securing his own safety ; but he could not prevent the Index officers from stigmatizing Copernicus's doctrine as "absurd and infidel," and placing his book, with several of Galileo's own treatises relative thereto, in the *Index Prohibitorum*.¹ The philosopher submitted to the ecclesiastical dictum, but in his heart he rebelled against the judgment. When, seven years later, his friend and patron, Cardinal Barberini, ascended the papal throne as Urban VIII., he again ventured, in a "Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the Universe," on a comprehensive demonstration of the truth of the Copernican views. Scarcely was the work published (1632), when the Jesuits persuaded the pope that the astronomer had held him up to ridicule. Galileo had to appear before the Inquisition in 1633.

In spite of the contemporaneous and subsequent falsifications in the records of the process, it is now proved that Galileo was really subjected to torture in accordance with the terms of sentence pronounced on him. The permission to print, formerly granted to him, was declared to have been obtained under false pretences ; and the philosopher, then in his seventieth year, was compelled on bended knees to abjure the Copernican doctrine. His "Dialogue" was suppressed, and he himself was condemned to imprisonment for an indefinite time. His sentence was, indeed, commuted to enforced retirement at his own villa at Florence, and he never again regained full liberty. A victim to manifold bodily sufferings, he survived his trial eight years, and died in 1642. He had become blind, yet had occupied himself unremittingly with scientific work and with the compilation and arrangement of the results of his earlier investigations. In Italy, these could not be published ; but this was accomplished abroad, especially in Germany.

Like Italian poetry, architecture fell into decay. True beauty, nobility of form, and symmetry of proportions were sacrificed to violent and tasteless effects. The aim now was massiveness in proportions, extravagant richness of ornamentation, and pictorial perspective not at all in harmony with the essential nature of this art. Nothing kept its natural character ; the straight lines of the walls were converted into

¹ The list of books proscribed by the Catholic church.

advancing and retiring curves, with bulky projections. Architraves were sinuous, the gables of open-work without purpose, the pillars unreasonably serpentine. Everywhere there was an ostentatious profusion of interlaced foliage, fruit-pieces, figures, shells, and emblems of all kinds. Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) is the most prominent representative of this *baroque* style. His disciple and rival, Francesco Borromini, sought to surpass him through the exaggeration of tasteless ornamentation and a preposterous medley of all the constructive elements. His example was unfortunately too much followed north of the Alps.

In the art of sculpture, also, Bernini was the despot of his age; and here, too, all canons of art and good taste were outraged. Extravagant emotions, sensual treatment of the nude, coarse strength in the male figures, coquettish attitudes in those of the females, were too much in keeping with the effeminate life of the Italy of his period. A host of subordinate masters imitated his vicious example.

Neither could Italian painting remain entirely unaffected by the prevailing tendency; but here this was by no means so incongruous as in the case of sculpture. There were, at this period, highly gifted artists who knew how to elevate it from its eccentricities and to purify and ennoble it. In the beginning of our epoch, the Carracci sought to bring painting back to the study of nature and of the great artists of the sixteenth century, and they attained the happiest results. But their disciples, Domenico Zampieri—commonly called Domenichino—and Guido Reni, were able to follow this tendency only in their earlier pictures, and soon began to prefer showy ornamentation and a somewhat excessive sweetness of expression. Carlo Dolce is the characteristic representative of this school. Yet these artists, among whom Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino, takes a high place, knew how to lend a high and enduring value to their works, and to elevate them above the commonplace of mere sensuous effects by the marvelous blending and power of their colors, by their sense for the beautiful, and by their truth of feeling.

In politics, Italy and Spain retired more and more into the background, to make room for the predominating influence of France. A great revolution, too, was preparing in the east of Europe, which was to elevate Russia at the expense of Poland and Turkey. On the destiny of Poland, the twenty-five years' reign of the fanatical disciple of Jesuitism, Sigismund III., exercised the most baneful influence. In this time all the germs of corruption were developed which the predominance of a selfish petty nobility and the brutal violence of the Counter-reformation had introduced into the state. For a time, indeed, the valor of her nobles and her abundant population maintained the prestige of Poland

abroad. Her intervention in Russian affairs gained for her, at the Peace of Devulino (1618), Smolensk, Severa, and Tschernigov—important provinces which introduced her sway into the very heart of Russia.

But this success was much more than counterbalanced by the rise of a powerful and popular dynasty in Russia, endowed with all the freshness and vigor of youth. The decline of the welfare of the Polish people became more and more rapid. Wild revolts of the refractory nobles shook the fabric of the state. The great rebellion of the voivode, Nicholas Zebrzydowski, notwithstanding occasional successes of the royal troops, was brought to an end only by inglorious concessions on the part of the crown. A war with Turkey, provoked by a contest over the election of a prince in Moldavia, ended with the Peace of Chotin in 1621, which conceded to the Turks this fortress, commanding the most important passage of the Dniester, as well as the sole right of nominating the Moldavian princes. Scarcely was this war closed when Sigismund involved himself in the great German religious war by taking the side of Catholicism and Austria. This act he expiated by the cession to Gustavus Adolphus of a part of Prussia and of Livonia.

After Sigismund's death, although no rival appeared to contest the crown with his son Wladislaw, it pleased the nobility to institute an interregnum for six months, during which the turbulent elements were free to indulge, unchecked, in violence, plundering, and personal fends. Finally Wladislaw IV. was elected—a man by no means wanting in courage and military ability. When the Russian czar, Michael Romanoff, attempted to take advantage of the change in Polish rulers to recover the provinces which he had lost by the Peace of Devulino, Wladislaw completely hemmed in his army and forced it to capitulate. A peace concluded at Viäsmä confirmed Poland in her possessions. Furthermore the Peace of Stuhmsdorf with Sweden (1635) gave back to the king, if not Livonia, at least that portion of Prussia lost by his father.

But the process of internal decay had made rapid strides from two causes: the predominance of the clergy, and the growing usurpations of the nobility. Wladislaw was an obedient disciple of the church. The Jesuits had already the higher education in their hands; the king made over to them the middle and lower schools as well. Henceforth, in Poland, teaching had to be in strictest accordance with the dicta of the church. The nobles, on their part, broke down the military strength of the kingdom, through a law that the standing army should consist only of a guard of 1200 men, the object being to make the ruler wholly subservient to them. The punishment for this selfish and unwise procedure of the nobles was not long in coming.

We have already (Vol. XII., page 131) spoken of the constitution of the Cossack state proper, on the Middle and Lower Dnieper, which, developed by Russian and Lithuanian fugitives, had received from King Stephen Báthori a firm organization under Polish suzerainty, yet resting on entirely independent military institutions. It soon acquired considerable power, and its undaunted warriors, not content with combating the Turks and Crim Tatars by land, took with equal skill and courage to the sea, and, in their light boats, plundered without cessation the shores of Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, spreading terror into the very harbor of Constantinople. The Porte had often complained at Warsaw. This gave the Poles a pretext for attempting to exterminate not only the political freedom, but also the Greek religion of the Cossacks. First, these were compelled to renounce the election of their hetman, and to submit to the leadership of the Polish commander-in-chief; then the Jesuits came into the land and shut up their churches, permitting only the worship of the so-called Greek Unionists, who acknowledged the authority of Rome.

Ultimately Polish nobles settled in the Ukraine and transformed the hitherto free Cossacks into serfs. As these repeatedly rose in revolt, the Poles, in their diet of 1638, took advantage of their "rebellion" to take from them all personal and political rights. The Cossacks found a leader in Bogdan Chmielnicki, whom a Polish noble had deprived of his land. As Chmielnicki could obtain no justice in Warsaw, he raised the banner of revolt in 1648. Forthwith the whole Ukraine was under arms. The people of Little Russia, embittered by the Jesuits' zeal for conversion, streamed into the camp of the new hetman; even their former foes, the Tatars, greedy for Polish spoil, sent help.

In the midst of these disorders, King Wladislaw IV. died (1648). The nobles wrangled for five weeks over the election of a king. Thus Bogdan was able to press forward to Zamosk with destruction in his train. At length the exertions and the gold of the queen-widow secured the election of John Casimir, brother of the deceased. The last of the house of Vasa, he had been, up to this time, a Jesuit and a cardinal; but the pope freely released him from the priestly order. He proved, however, by no means equal to the situation. He first sought to win over Chmielnicki. But the Polish nobles would hear nothing of dealings with the despised "peasants," and, under the leadership of Jeremiah Wisznowiecki, fell suddenly on the unsuspecting Cossacks, massacring them mercilessly. This scandalous outrage fired the Cossacks with the wildest passion for revenge. Bogdan, in alliance with the Tatar khan, Islam Gerai, vanquished the king and his array of nobles, in various battles on the plain

of Zborov, and so hemmed him in that he was forced to come to terms with the Cossacks. He had to grant to them their former practical independence and to pay a yearly tribute to the Tatars. The Græco-Catholic metropolis of Kieff received a seat and vote in the Polish senate.

From these experiences, the Polish aristocracy might have drawn the conclusion that the welfare of their fatherland demanded a more centralized government. But, in the diet of 1652, the infamous *liberum veto* was declared a perpetual law. There had never really been any systematic voting in the diet; the majority had been in the habit of simply shouting down the minority, or, if the latter did not acquiesce gracefully, of compelling them to submission by violence, and occasionally by murder. On one occasion, when the most important measures in regard to the defence of the kingdom against the Cossacks and Tatars were under consideration, one insignificant Lithuanian country-member shouted into the hall, "I dissent," and forthwith fled, that he might not be compelled to change his vote. His friends and party maintained that, except by unanimous consent, the diet could arrive at no valid decision; and this view, absurd as it is, they were able to enforce. The diet separated without result—thenceforth any member had the power to nullify the proceedings of the diet by the use of the *liberum veto*. Never has the passion for personal liberty carried a ruling class to so pernicious an extreme. To the caprice of the individual were sacrificed the peace, the greatness—nay, the very existence—of the fatherland.

While the nobles in this way doomed the kingdom to weakness and internal dissolution, they revoked the compact entered into with the Cossacks. Above all, the Jesuit party in the senate would hear nothing of the admission of the schismatic metropolis, Kieff, into the diet. Provoked by the constant insults and encroachments of the Poles, Bogdan Chmielnicki once more took up arms. The Cossacks soon found a mightier ally than the Tatars. In 1654, they finally renounced Polish rule and placed themselves under the protection of their co-religionists, the Russians. The czar, Alexis Michaelovitch, gladly agreed to all their conditions. They were to be ruled by their own elected chiefs in accordance with their own laws, and were to pay no tribute. Sixty thousand of them were to be enrolled for war-service and receive regular pay from the czar. Henceforth, this martial people, instead of being a bulwark of Poland against Russia, became the frontier-guard of Russia against Poland. With overpowering strength, in which religious zeal played no small part, the Russians and Cossacks repelled the attacks of the Poles, conquered White Russia and Lithuania, and even took the fortress of Lublin in Poland proper.

With the political decline of Poland was associated her intellectual decadence. The preceding epoch of the Reformation is regarded as the golden age of Polish literature. Nicholas Rej (1507–1568) celebrated sometimes the views of the reformers, sometimes the joys of love, and gave his robust humor expression in strongly spiced satires. Of much higher and finer endowments than this gifted country gentleman was John Kochanowski (1530–1584), the foremost of Poland's older poets. In him profound knowledge of classical antiquity was associated with deep poetic feeling and the happiest mastery of expression. As a lyric poet, he was never equaled in Poland. Side by side with these noble authors stands the low-born Sebastian Klonowicz; his revolutionary temper found voice in powerful and racy, but bitter verses. Prose was written almost exclusively in Latin. All the more credit, therefore, belongs to Lucas Gornieki's "*Courtier*," which was written in Polish, and is an admirable mirror of the usages of the higher society of his time. The exciting political and religious life of the period exerted a stimulating influence on Polish oratory, of which some masterpieces remain.

Under the direful rule of Sigismund III., the lustre of Polish literature began to grow dim. The burghers were shut out not only from all participation in public life, but also from the higher education. Even the nobles ceased to resort to foreign universities, so perilous, as they believed, for their faith. The university of Cracow rapidly retrograded. The authority of a tutelary and exclusive church interdicted all free investigation and independent thought. The political disorganization and the self-seeking of the ruling caste enfeebled every higher national aspiration. Soon Latin became the dominant literary language; little except translations from the French appeared in the native tongue.

After long-continued disorder, Russia had received a firm organization through the installation of the new dynasty of the house of Romanoff. The czar, Michael Féodorovitch, was a well-meaning but weak prince, who, all his life, was subservient to foreign influences. The boyars availed themselves of this weakness to exert a considerable influence on the government. But the situation was changed, when, after the Peace of Devulino, the czar's father, the monk Philaretus, returned from a Polish prison and was nominated by his son to the patriarchate of Moscow. This energetic man became joint ruler, and caused the year of his rule as spiritual primate to appear on the public documents side by side with that of the temporal potentate—a custom continued by his successors in the patriarchal chair of Moscow. The boyars were once more deprived of all influence and reduced to their former state of vassalage.

The council of state was still called together on occasions of high importance, and certain of its members were bold enough to express their views on the questions submitted; but the decision of the czar was final. Michael and his successor, Alexis, assembled on several occasions a general council consisting of two nobles and two burghers from each city; but even here the members were only asked to express their opinions, without the czar being in any way bound by them. This was hardly a representative parliament, as some Slavophiles would have us believe.

On the death of Czar Michael, his son Alexis, a lad of sixteen, ascended the throne. At first the youthful prince was completely dependent on his tutor, the boyar, Boris Morosow, who, misusing his power, espoused his pupil to the daughter of a petty noble, whose sister he himself had married, and heaped offices and pensions upon his own and the czarina's relatives. Plundering of the people and scandalous misgovernment through Boris's protégés was now the rule in Russia. Commercial monopolies in the hands of the dominant families hampered traffic and increased the cost of the necessities of life. At length the long-suffering populace of Moscow rose in wild revolt (1648), not against the czar, but against his officials, and struck down a number of them. Alexis rescued Morosow with difficulty, and had to banish him from his presence and exclude him from all public offices.

Alexis thereupon appointed a commission of nobles and ecclesiastics, to compile a new code of laws (July, 1648) based on the rights of the church, former edicts of the czar, and decisions of the boyars. A national convention in October, 1649, recognized the new code, which was then promulgated in all lands under the sceptre of the czar. Yet notwithstanding this wise and popular measure, the land did not attain peace. Official dishonesty provoked new risings in Novgorod and Pskoff in 1650, some of which had to be suppressed by armed force. To cut off the source of such outbreaks, the czar constituted a new board, which, under various names, has continued to the present day, being now known as the "Chamber of Secret Affairs." To it was entrusted the unconditional execution of the czar's decrees. Only insignificant persons were called to it, for they would be blind tools of the sovereign authority, and thus pave the way for unconditional and unlimited absolutism.

This strengthening of the power of the czar was of all the more importance because Russia was soon involved in a long and decisive conflict with Poland. The Cossack war sounded the signal; among the results were the lasting subjugation of Poland, and the ultimate elevation of Russia to be the foremost eastern power.

This change was made possible by the decadence of the Ottoman empire, which showed itself in all departments of government, and first in that of finance. In the time of Sultan Solyman the Great, a million ducats (about \$9,677,400) could be deposited yearly in the treasury as surplus. Under his successor, conditions were reversed. The expenditure soon exceeded the income by as much as one-fourth. Thefts and embezzlements in all branches co-operated with the cupidity of the sultans, who needed large sums for their pleasures, to empty the treasury. Peculation was organized into a system. The highest offices—even the governorships of whole provinces, the princely dignity in Moldavia and in Wallachia—were sold at auction to the highest bidders. No wonder that the purchasers sought to make up for this outlay by exactions from the miserable subjects, who, with no one beneath them to be preyed upon, had to bear the whole intolerable burden.

The oppressive burden of the taxes, the ignorance and indifference of the ephemeral officials, produced wide-spread poverty, misery, and depopulation. The husbandman cultivated only as many acres as would meet his barest needs, for he knew that any surplus would be taken from him by violence. In all quarters were to be seen deserted homesteads and houses falling to ruin.

The enormous extent of the Ottoman empire, the length of whose frontier-line was estimated at about 15,000 miles, was an element of weakness rather than strength. In Asia, the empire comprehended Anatolia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia; in Africa, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers; in Europe, Thrace, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, the greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Servia, Dalmatia, Albania, Macedonia, and Greece, with the archipelago. The fairest and most fertile districts of three continents—from the Tigris to the Middle Danube and almost to the Pillars of Hercules—were subject to the sultans, who, instead of using their unbounded resources to make themselves masters of the world, merely spread death and ruin over once blooming and vigorous empires.

In the families of the sultans, constant strifes and bloody conflicts arose among the wives, or among their sons, or between the sons and their father. Even under the great Solyman, such conflicts had taken place. The grand-viziers began to have weightier influence in state affairs than the sultans themselves, who succumbed more and more to the intrigues of the harem. The personal council of the vizier constituted the "Sublime Porte," the highest political authority. The most illustrious of the viziers was Mohammed Sokolli, who, though of Christian origin, rose under Solyman to this foremost position, and, under

Selim II., became all-powerful. It was due to him that Turkey, under the weak Selim, continued on the whole to maintain its position. Sokolli's ability, uprightness, and toleration for his former fellow-believers, the Christians, were commended by all his well-informed contemporaries. After ruling for fourteen years, he fell, in 1579, by the dagger of a dervish to whom he did not appear sufficiently fanatical.

Under the grand-vizier, and in conjunction with him, ruled the "Divan," a body composed of the highest officials of the empire, and meeting regularly four times a week for the consideration of matters of policy, administration, and justice. To it everyone could submit his case. Its decisions required confirmation by the sultan, but this was seldom withheld.

The military power of Turkey rested on its feudal cavalry, every warrior being hereditary possessor of a fief, larger or smaller. The number of these "sipahi" (*spahis*) amounted to at least 200,000, organized by districts (*sanjaks*) under sanjak-beys; these again were organized into provinces (*eyalets*) under beyler-beys or governors, the military leaders being also the civil administrators of their respective districts. The spahis laid the foundation of Turkey's greatness, but, with increasing riches and effeminacy, they lost their warlike spirit. Recourse was now had to paid spahis, at first merely a sort of body-guard, but latterly increased in number to 40,000 heavy-armed horsemen. To these must be added the irregular cavalry—who, instead of receiving pay, remunerated themselves by pillaging—and the Tatar, Moldavo-Wallachian, Georgian, and other auxiliaries. The total number of these horsemen was, in the seventeenth century, more than 220,000, and, before firearms were perfected, they were the main support of Turkey's military supremacy.

Meanwhile a reliable infantry was needed. This was by preference composed of Christian boys who had been carried off from their parents, and who, after being trained in Islamism and subjected to discipline, were drafted into the corps of Janizaries. In 1638, under Murad IV., this compulsory enlistment was abolished, and, ever after, the corps consisted exclusively of volunteers. The service was severe and for life; but the position was held in honor and was well paid. Originally the corps had been distinguished for its brotherly spirit, order, morality, and devoted heroism; but deterioration came with the admission of young Turks, to whom the privilege of marriage could not be denied, as it had been to the stolen offspring of Christians. Thus the military power of Turkey degenerated rapidly. The more disorganized the state of the exchequer and the more irregularly the soldiers were paid, the more frequent were the revolts that sometimes led to bloody catastrophes.

After the battle of Lepanto, matters went even worse with the Turkish navy. The fleets lost confidence, and no longer ventured out of the harbors. The Turks, brave and enterprising by land, had ever felt themselves awkward and timid at sea. The poverty of the government also wrought evil. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Turkish navy was reduced to fifty ships, which were fit only for the pettiest services.

It must be admitted that the Osmanlis did not understand how to take advantage of their triumphs on European soil, so as to evolve an enduring national organization. Rigid and severe in its forms, the government was always alien and hostile to its subject races. Culture remained the property of the few. Individual sultans favored learning, but, irrespective of some historical works, this was altogether of a religious character. There is a striking contrast between the literary barrenness of Turkey and the brilliant intellectual development that once distinguished their Arabian and Persian fellow-believers. In the domain of politics, the condition of affairs was similar. Legislation was stationary, for it could not deviate an iota from the principles laid down in the Koran.

The Christian subjects of the Turks were treated as mere cattle. No efforts were made to convert them, although this would have greatly strengthened Turkey in the Balkan peninsula and along the Danube. Nay, from pure selfishness, some sultans forbade conversions in large numbers to Islam; this would have involved the loss of the poll-tax imposed on Christians and the conscription of their children. Revolts among the Christians were frequent, and were crushed only by the most brutal violence. The most striking proof of the Turks' incapacity for rule is the fact that they could dispense with the despised unbelievers neither in the administration nor in the army. Their hosts were mainly recruited from captive Christian children, and the higher administrative offices were almost exclusively occupied by Christians. Only by virtue of this peculiar system was Turkey able to maintain her integrity till toward the end of the seventeenth century.

On the death of the debauchee, Selim II., in 1574, Mohammed Sokolli was successful in placing Selim's eldest son, Murad III., on the throne. He inaugurated his reign, in accordance with the ghastly Ottoman custom, by slaying his younger brothers. He soon plunged into the enervating excesses of the harem, and showed zeal for nothing save the scandalous plundering of his subjects. By this plundering, he obtained the means for the constant largesses by which the fidelity of his troops was secured. Yet in spite of the deplorable conduct of the

administration, his adventurous provincial governors were able to extend his domains in Hungary at the cost of Austria.

Meanwhile another war broke out, and this time with the oriental rival of the Ottoman empire, Persia (1578). This state was hostile to Turkey not only on political grounds, but also on religious ones. The Persian sect of Shiites and the Turkish sect of Sunnites hated each other. After a war of twelve years, peace was concluded in 1590, on terms highly honorable for the Osmanlis. Persia ceded to them the whole of Georgia, as well as the provinces on the southwest coast of the Caspian. Yet, notwithstanding this brilliant result, the Persian campaigns were disastrous for the Turks. Their best armies—to the number, it is said, of 600,000 men—were destroyed, and their finances reduced to a state of hopeless disorder. The ill effects appeared prominently when the war against Emperor Rudolf II. broke out anew in 1593. In this campaign, the Turks suffered numerous defeats; and had it not been for the emperor's frenzied passion for persecution and the risings of the Hungarians and Transylvanians under Bocskay, the Porte would have suffered heavy losses in the Peace of Zsitwa-Torok in 1607. Meantime Murad III. had been replaced by his son, Mohammed III., and he by his brother, Aehmet I.; but these insignificant princes exerted no material influence upon the course of political and military events.

Aehmet soon found a formidable foe in the energetic and gifted Shah of Persia, Abbas the Great (Fig. 16). This prince undertook to wrest from the Turks their conquests in the last war, and now the real weakness of the Ottoman empire was revealed. In the campaigns from 1604 to 1619, all that the Turks had acquired since 1590 was lost. The Persian wars had exhausted the best strength of the state.

The extent to which the decadence of the Turkish government had gone is shown by the fact that, on the death of Aehmet in 1617, the Divan, that it might order matters at its own discretion, elevated his imbecile brother, Mustapha, to the throne. In three months he was deposed in favor of Osman II., the eldest son of Aehmet I. The new sultan was a high-spirited, chivalric youth—inspired, above all, with the ambition to restore the empire and his race to their ancient glory. But his warlike projects were not favored by the indolent spahis and Janizaries. The failure of a campaign against Poland heightened the discontent. The grand-vizier, the minister of war, and other high functionaries and officers were massacred by the maddened soldiery. Finally Osman himself shared their fate—the first case of regicide in Turkish history. The imbecile Mustapha was replaced on the throne, where he conducted himself in the most insane manner.

At length the Divan and the army alike recognized that an end must be put to such a deplorable condition of affairs. In 1623, Mustapha was relegated to the harem, where he lived in obscurity for sixteen years; and Osman's brother, Murad IV., was set in his place. Murad—though, like his murdered brother, a youth of energy and enterprise—gave way without restraint to his sensual passions, and thus ultimately



FIG. 16.—Abbas I., the Great, Shah of Persia. (From a Persian original portrait.)

wrecked himself. He humbled the insolent arrogance of the Janizaries by terrible and repeated executions. External affairs soon demanded his active intervention. Several Asiatic pashas rose in revolt, and Shah Abbas the Great of Persia was ready to take advantage of these tumults to extend his own dominions. In 1623, he made himself master of Bagdad, the capital of Mesopotamia and the ancient residence of the

edils, and forthwith proceeded to further conquests. In 1628, luckily for the Osmanlis, he died; and his son, Seli, was of far inferior capacity. Sultan Murad now undertook war in person against Persia, and conducted it with the fierce energy characteristic of his nature. He retook Erivan, Tabriz, and Van; and finally, in 1638, stormed Bagdad, which was now little more than a heap of ruins. In the next year, the long-protracted Persian war was brought to a close by a peace that left affairs very much as they were before it broke out.

Murad now thought of turning his victorious arms against Christian Europe, which was rent by numberless conflicts. Christendom trembled at the threatening danger, when, in 1640, the sultan died, worn out prematurely by his debaucheries and passions. He had restored discipline and confidence to his army, and order to his finances; but these reforms were based merely on fear, and everything depended on the character of those who should hereafter hold the reins of government.

Ibrahim, Murad's youngest brother, who succeeded to the throne, was an enervated weakling. He had, however, able ministers, who maintained the prestige of Turkey abroad, reorganized the fleet, and began in 1645 a war with Venice for the possession of Crete. In 1648, Ibrahim was murdered by the Janizaries, who thereupon placed his youthful son, Mohammed IV., upon the throne. The real masters of the empire were now the Janizaries—like the Pretorian Guards in ancient Rome—and, before their power, both the sovereign and his ministers trembled. The destruction of the state seemed imminent, but it was averted by a race of hereditary grand-viziers, who, beginning with Mohammed Köprili in 1656, and holding office for a quarter of a century, secured for the Ottoman empire a new lease of life. The alliance with France under Louis XIV., effected at this time, lends a fictitious importance to the position of Turkey in European affairs in the middle of the seventeenth century.

BOOK II.



THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

CHAPTER III.

MAZARIN AND CROMWELL.

THE strong development of the absolute power of the king, to which Richelieu devoted himself, was not checked by the death of the great cardinal. The principle was in fullest harmony with the views of Louis XIII., who, notwithstanding his personal dislike of his powerful minister, identified himself with his system after his death. On his death-bed, Richelieu had recommended to him his trusted friend and favorite disciple, Cardinal Mazarin, and to him the monarch dutifully entrusted the destiny of his kingdom. Giulio Mazarini, born July 14, 1602, at Piscina in the Abruzzi, was the scion of a moderately wealthy Sicilian burgher-family, which had settled in Rome to push its fortune at the papal court. After carefully completing his studies in Spain and Rome, the young Giulio chose arms as his profession, and served as captain in the papal troops in the struggles for the Valtelline. But he soon adopted diplomacy as his career, and became an attaché to Cardinal Panciroli. After considerable diplomatic success, he exchanged the coat-of-mail for the churchman's vestments which every Roman statesman had to wear. His acute political insight enabled him to recognize France as the country of the future, and, although a born subject of Spain, he made no scruple of showing himself favorable to French interests. He thus won the friendship of Richelieu, who, appreciating his value, soon attracted him (1640) to France, secured for him the cardinalate, and kept him ever near his person as a confidential counselor and trusted friend. Clear-sighted, of tenacious memory, eminently ready of speech, weighing everything and leaving nothing to chance, with no regard for truth or conviction, but subordinating everything to interest, this man was the most complete embodiment of the clever but unscrupulous statesmanship of the seventeenth century.

Mazarin's continuance in power was called in question when, five months after Richelieu's death, Louis XIII. died on May 14, 1643. He

left behind him two sons, both of tender age—the dauphin, Louis, and Philip of Anjou. The former was a boy of five years. He had a vigorous frame, and soon showed great decision of character. His uncle, Gaston of Orleans, had been long deservedly shut out from the prospect of obtaining the regency, so that there was no doubt but that the government would be conducted by the young king's mother, Anne of Austria.

Anne had never been on good terms with her weak and heartless husband. Richelieu had fostered the alienation, and had personally deeply wounded the queen. She, in return, had favored the cardinal's enemies and sympathized with them in their discomfiture. Her own friends had died on the scaffold, or were in prison, or were fugitives in foreign lands. No wonder that these fugitives now thought that their hour of triumph was at hand. The results of Richelieu's policy seemed brought into question, and a foundation laid for the renewal of the domination of a selfish and turbulent aristocracy. On account of their assumption and arrogance, the returning exiles received the nickname of the "Importants."

Louis XIII. had appointed a council of regency to act with the queen-regent. Anne at once resolved to free herself from this restraining influence. But, to effect this, she saw that she required the co-operation of the minister. She therefore approached Mazarin (PLATE IX.), who in the most emphatic manner placed all his experience, skill, and wide-reaching connections at her disposal. Openly supported by the Importants, and secretly by the minister, she easily received from the Parlement of Paris complete dispensation from the clauses restricting her power. The first use she made of her absolute authority was to name Mazarin as her prime minister. He showed himself moderate, generous, and complaisant to all. A life of luxurious pleasure prevailed at court. Abroad, fortune smiled on the French arms. The golden age seemed to have dawned for France.

But this peaceful interval was not of long duration. So soon as the Importants saw that, contrary to their expectations, the regent did not discard Richelieu's disciple, they resumed their business of conspiracy. This gave the cardinal the wished-for pretext for annihilating the whole party by the imprisonment or banishment of its members, and for filling the ministerial offices exclusively with his own partisans (September, 1643). His power was all the greater because the queen was attached to him not only by interest, but also by affection.

Not the Importants alone, but the great mass of the people as well, felt deceived in the new government. They had believed that Mazarin was at heart disposed for peace, but the war went on year after year in



Cardinal Mazzarino

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving, 1659, by Robert Naudet

History of Art and Architecture, Vol. XIII, page 112



in his Gallery

(1630-1678). Original drawing by François Chauveau (1620-1676).

ever greater proportions. But, in military capacity, Mazarin was far inferior to Richelieu; and so the success of the conflict was more doubtful. The Catalonians, who had proclaimed the King of France as Count of Barcelona, were reduced to subjection by Spain. Still more disastrous was the issue of the Neapolitan revolt against Castilian sway, and this, too, not without fault on the part of the French government.

We have seen (page 81) that the dismissal of the meritorious minister of Spain, Olivarez, by Philip IV., was due to palace-intrigues. He was replaced by Don Luis de Haro, a mild, well-meaning statesman, but largely deficient in insight and adroitness. The subject provinces of Italy revolted against the oppressive taxation and the arbitrary caprice of Spanish officials and soldiers. There was a revolt in Naples in July, 1647, against the taxes imposed by the viceroy, the Duke of Arcos, upon the most indispensable necessities of life. A brave but visionary fisher of Amalfi, Tommaso Aniello (Masaniello), put himself at the head of the insurgents, organized them, and defeated the Spanish troops. Masaniello showed himself disposed to come to terms with the viceroy, who had fled to Castelnuovo; but this man, in the most perfidious manner, caused Masaniello to be assassinated, and violated the compact entered into with the Neapolitans.

The people now resolved to drive the Spaniards out of their land, and turned to France for help. A French grandee—Henry, Duke of Guise—was set at the head of the Neapolitan republic, with the promise of French support. But Guise had unfortunately been one of Richelieu's bitterest enemies, and Mazarin believed he could not be trusted. The support afforded was so lukewarm that the duke, after a struggle of five months, was forced to leave Naples in April, 1648, and, being captured in his flight, was carried captive to the fortress of Gaeta. Naples reverted to Spanish sway, but under more favorable conditions.

With justice, this unfortunate issue was ascribed to Mazarin. Owing to the protracted war, the burden of taxation was becoming heavier and heavier. The people said that foreigners were flaying the folk of France to enrich themselves. The Parlement of Paris had long cherished the wish of imitating the English Parliament in participating in the framing of the laws and in the control of the finances. With this aim, it availed itself of the fact that royal edicts had force only when entered in the register of the Parlement. In reality, it had only the right of remonstrating with the king, if the ordinances seemed to it inconsistent with the public weal. But the Parlement, emboldened by the important rôle that it had played in the establishment of Anne's regency, took up a position most favorable for the enforcement of its claims, by repeatedly refusing

to register new tax-laws. Mazarin's adroit policy long maintained peace; but at length, in the beginning of 1648, the Parlement made use of the government's urgent need of money to compel the dismissal of d'Emeri, the controller-general of finances, and to obtain the recognition of its own legislative rights.

The court earnestly longed for an opportunity for putting an end to the dictatorial attitude of the Parlement. The time seemed to have come, after Louis, Prince of Condé, had annihilated (August 20, 1648) the infantry and artillery of the Spanish army of the Netherlands, at Lens in Flanders. The government seized the two ringleaders of the opposition in the Parlement—the president, de Blanmesnil, and the counselor, Broussel.

But the people saw in the Parlement the defender of its liberties and of its purse. With one bound, all Paris arose, overwhelmed the few troops around the Palais Royal, and forced from the government the liberation of the two prisoners. Since after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia war was still carried on between France and Spain, Mazarin was accused of prolonging it in order to enrich himself from the appropriations for the army. This was another opportunity for the opposition (called *la Fronde*—the *frondeurs* or slingers), which now forced the court to flee with unseemly haste to St.-Germain on the night of January 5-6, 1649. For this humiliation Louis XIV. never forgave the Parlement.

The real adviser of the court at this time was Condé. But this did not save Mazarin from being the main target for the envenomed shafts of the Fronde. Innumerable satirical songs—Mazarinades—had him for their subject. Civil war broke out, and, along with the popular and parliamentary opposition, that of the high aristocracy once more came to life. Through their influence, the Fronde went so far as to enter into communication with their country's enemies, the Spaniards. If this was startling to many clear-sighted and intelligent people, no less so was the vain and selfish demeanor of these glittering nobles, who regarded the Fronde only as an instrument of their cupidity.

The people murmured against enduring the burden and privations of a civil war for such men, and the members of the Parlement therefore concluded a peace with the ministry at Rueil, April 1, 1649. This brought personal advantage only to the *grands* allied with the Fronde. Of the essential demands of the Parlement, or of the removal of foreigners from the government, not a word was said. Not only was the king able to return to Paris, but the hated d'Emeri could resume his office as controller-general.

The Frondeurs soon fell out with the Prince of Condé (Fig. 17). At the head of the Fronde stood a prelate, Jean de Gondî, the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, who, through his brilliant and seductive endowments, had won great influence with the populace. By promising him a cardinal's hat for himself and new rewards for his friends, Mazarin secured their aid for the ruin of Condé. In January, 1650, Condé, with his brother and brother-in-law, was seized and shut up in the strong



FIG. 17.—The Great Condé. After a copper-engraving by Ph. Lefebvre; original painting by Robert Nanteuil (1630-1678).

castle of Vincennes. But the southwest of France rose at once in favor of the captives, under the leadership of the Parlement of Bordeaux. While the royal troops were busying themselves with the recovery of that which had been lost here, the Spaniards, without finding any earnest resistance, burst into Picardy and Champagne. At the same time, the French generals in Italy and on the Spanish frontier, destitute of resources, suffered constant losses.

These mischances—for which Mazarin was, after all, not to blame—

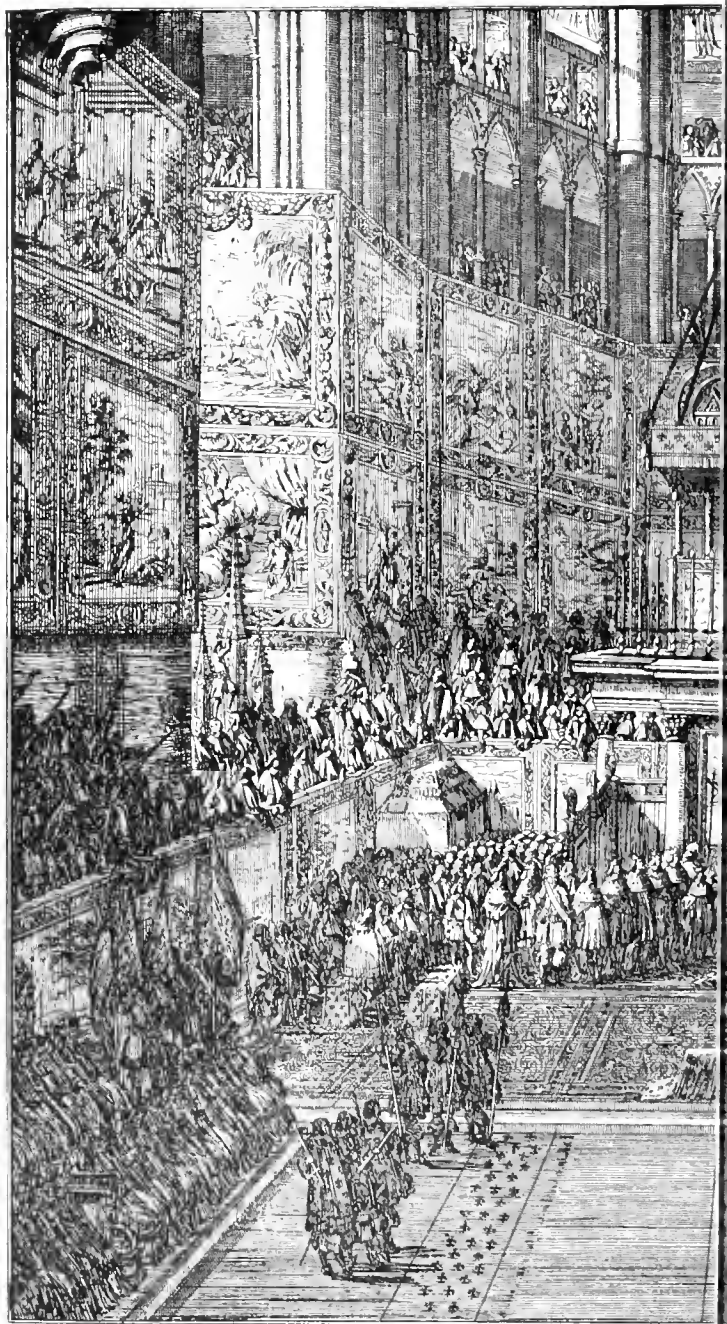
roused great discontent through the land. The parliamentary and noble Frondeurs eagerly availed themselves of this for the resumption of their ambitious and self-seeking intrigues. Mazarin, to avert the threatened storm, set the captive princes at liberty, but no one thanked him for this enforced magnanimity. On the contrary, the Parlement, in February, 1651, banished him and all his foreign functionaries from France. He took up his abode in Brühl, a pleasure-seat of the Elector of Cologne. Meanwhile the queen and her sons were held as captives in the Louvre, and all Mazarin's friends dismissed from power.

The victors might now have established a liberal constitution in France, but they did nothing of the kind. The citizens had become weary of taking up arms for the personal profit of a few party-leaders, while Mazarin, through secret correspondence, counseled the queen to fan the embers of discord among her foes, by playing off one party against the other. She succeeded in winning over Gondî and the Parlement, and therefore Condé indignantly left Paris and began the civil war in his government of Guienne.

He had the less prospect of success after the king, then thirteen years old, had declared his nominal majority in a solemn session of the Parlement, held on September 7, 1651. In reality, the reins of power remained in the hands of the queen-mother. While the court advanced at the head of an army against Condé, she recalled the cardinal from his exile. This last act brought about a breach with the Parlement, which set a price on Mazarin's head. The latter, undeterred, levied an army of 6000 men, and, in the beginning of 1652, again joined the queen-regent.

The Parlement and Gondî, who had now become Cardinal de Retz, remained quiet. But the aristocratic opposition refused to be reconciled to Richelieu's successor, and everywhere rose against him under the leadership of Gaston of Orleans. The times of the civil wars during the regency of Maria de' Medici seemed to have returned. But royalty possessed now a strong and keen weapon, a standing army led by a commander of the first rank, the Viscount of Turenne. This great general, by his honesty of character, generosity, and goodness of heart, knew how to secure for himself the loyal devotion of his soldiers. Through a series of able manoeuvres he compelled the insurgent army of the Loire, with Condé at its head, to retreat on Paris, whose gates the Parlement had shut against both parties.

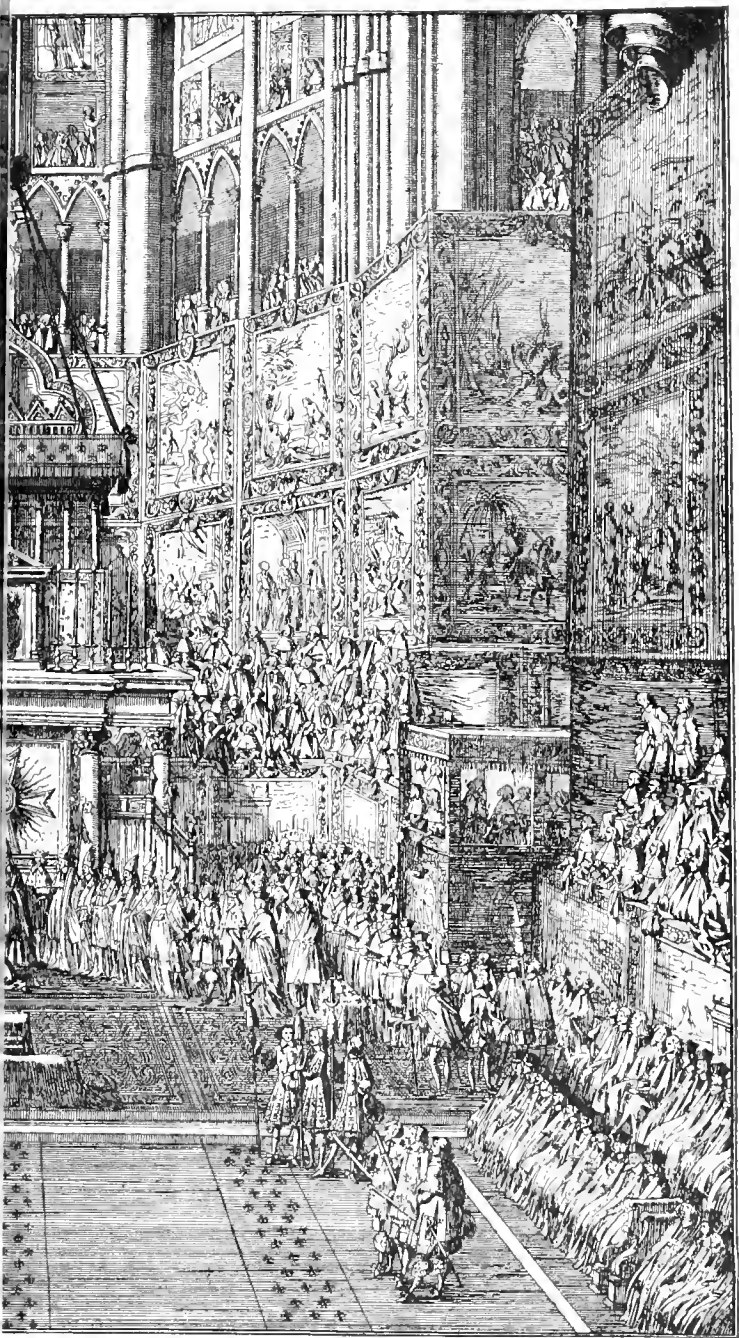
On July 2, 1652, in the suburb of St.-Antoine, Turenne defeated the enemy, and would have annihilated them, but for the intervention of a woman—the Princess of Montpensier. This lady was a daughter of Gaston of Orleans, but, unlike him, of bold and enterprising character.



Anointing of Louis XIV. in the C

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII, page 117.



edraal of Rheims, on June 7, 1654.

engraving by le Pautre (1617-1682).

Her purpose was, by vehement opposition, to compel the king to marry her; and with this aim, she prevailed on the Parisian populace to grant shelter to Condé and the remnant of his army. This was a severe blow for the monarchy. Mazarin alone foresaw that the overthrow of Parisian mob-rule could not be long deferred, and, to hasten the process, he once more left the kingdom and settled in the little town of Bouillon, in the bishopric of Liège.

His anticipations were soon realized. The Parlement, the municipal magistrates of Paris, the clergy, and even Retz himself declared for the king, and Condé disappeared from the city. On October 21, 1652, the young sovereign made his entrance and was received with the greatest enthusiasm (PLATE X.). The provinces, too, were soon brought to submission, and the nobles compelled to sue for pardon from the king. Condé and his Spaniards and Lorrainers were forced back by Turenne on Belgium, where the victor of Rocroi and Lens entered the Spanish service as generalissimo. The capture of Bordeaux, July 31, 1653, put an end to the war of the Fronde.

Thus was suppressed the last revolt of the old feudal power against absolute monarchy. The most important factor which had contributed to the victory of the crown was the lack of unity, combined with the low selfishness, which characterized the parties of the opposition in these struggles. Royalty seemed the sole appropriate representative of the nation, its only means of deliverance from the turmoil of conflicting interests and motives. Without doubt, moreover, the victory of the crown had been promoted by the persevering policy of Mazarin.

Retz, who still expected to play a great rôle, was shut up in the state-prison of Vincennes. The demoralized Parlement registered, without hesitation, thirteen new tax-edicts. No obstacle longer impeded the return of Mazarin, who entered Paris in triumph, February 3, 1653. Unlike Richelieu, he did not bring one of his enemies to the scaffold. His power was more undisputed than ever. The queen-mother gave herself up to devotional exercises, and left business entirely in his hands. The young king occupied his lively mind with warlike exercises, hunting, and literary studies. The cardinal caused him to be carefully instructed in affairs of state, and the young monarch adopted unquestioningly the minister's decision on all matters. He honored in Mazarin the counselor and guide of his youth and the loyal champion of royal authority.

Affairs of the heart, too, engaged the attention of the growing youth (Fig. 18), and, oddly enough, two nieces of the cardinal, one after the other, were the earliest objects of his affections: first, Olympia Mancini,



FIG. 18. Louis XIV. in 1662. Painted and engraved by Robert Nanteuil (1630-1678).

who soon married a Prince of Savoy and became the mother of Prince Eugene; and then her sister Maria. But when Mazarin saw that Louis's relations to Maria Mancini were assuming a more serious character, and that the king was sincerely anxious to marry her, he loyally preferred the

good of the state and of his sovereign to his own gain and that of his family, removed his niece from court, and forbade, at the same time, all correspondence between her and the king. Mazarin had a very different marriage in view for the young monarch.

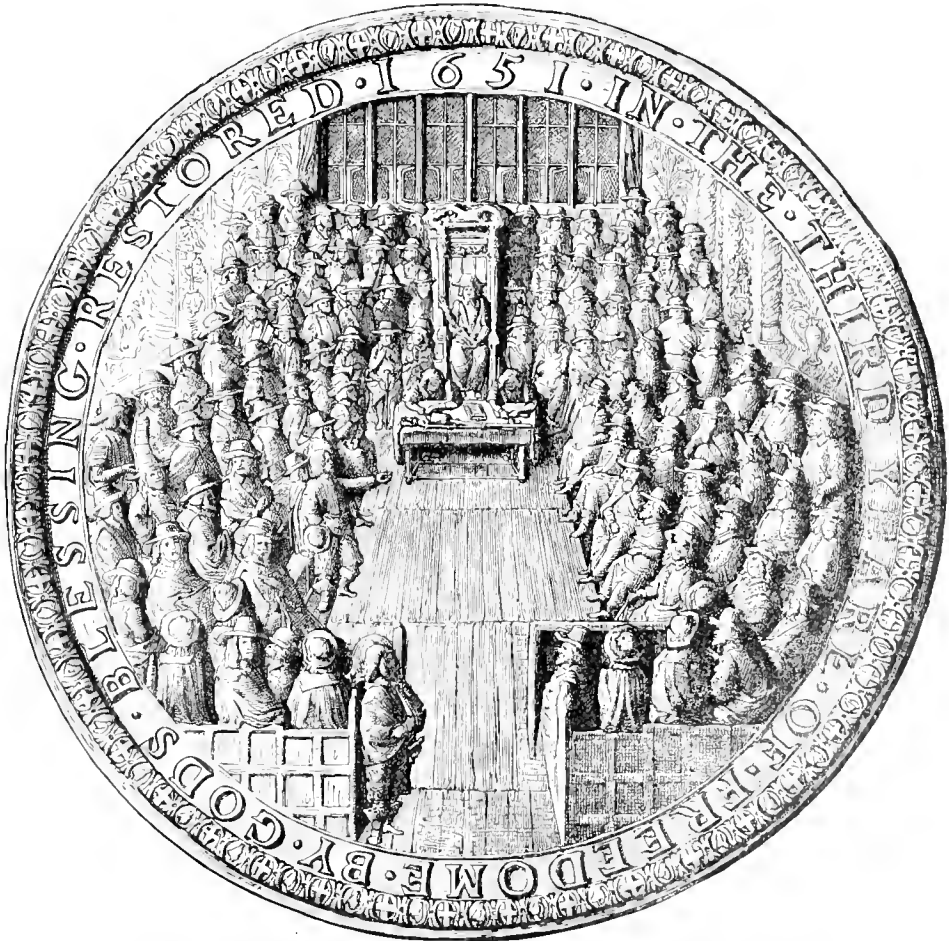


FIG. 19.—A sitting of Parliament. Reverse side (six-sevenths of the actual size) of the great seal of England, made by Thomas Simon. On the front is a map of England and the inscription: THE GREAT SEALE OF ENGLAND 1651. (Berlin, Royal Privy State Archives.)

The turbulence of the Fronde had made the full realization of Richelieu's ambitious plans of conquest impossible. What was now of chief importance was to put a stop to the advance of Spain. The fortunes of France again rose, and victory in the long struggle was decided by the

fact that Mazarin scrupled as little as Richelieu about allying himself with the republican regicide party in England and its glorious leader, Oliver Cromwell.

The English republic, as constituted in the early months of 1649, meant the rule of a minority surrounded on all sides by irreconcilable opponents: on the left by the "Levelers," a religious socialistic sect to which a considerable portion of the army belonged; on the right by the royalists, who, in Scotland, appeared as Presbyterians with a parliamentary bias (Fig. 19), and in Ireland as Catholics and supporters of absolutism. The republic would have been lost but for the eminent military and political capacity of Oliver Cromwell.

Ireland was first to be dealt with. In August, 1649, Cromwell landed in that country with 15,000 men, his plan comprising reconciliation with the Protestants, but relentless persecution of the Catholics. Both objects were carried out with complete success. The Irish were hunted down and put to death mercilessly. By the "Act of Settlement," the Catholic land-owners were driven out and replaced by Puritans.

Scarcely was Ireland subjugated when Scotland claimed Cromwell's attention. The Scotch Parliament had vanquished Montrose, the champion of unlimited monarchy, and executed him. The Parliament had then, however, summoned the young Charles Stuart into the land, but under conditions which delivered him, bound hand and foot, to the Presbyterian party. The English government at once declared war against the Scots. In his advance into their country, Cromwell not only encountered the bitter hostility of the people, but also found impregnable intrenchments, with which the experienced Scotch general, Leslie, had protected Edinburgh. His campaign would have been a failure, had not the fanatical Presbyterian preachers compelled Leslie, against his will, to attack the English at Dunbar, where, on September 3, 1650, Cromwell gained a complete victory. Half in despair, Charles Stuart adopted the plan of leaving Scotland to its fate and pressing forward into England, in the hope of a general rising in his favor. But only a few hundreds joined his standard. Cromwell met Charles's army near Worcester, on September 3, 1651, and scattered it with perfect ease. Charles himself, on whose head a reward of a thousand pounds had been set, after long wanderings, escaped to France.

These events strengthened the dominant party in England, and more especially increased the influence of Cromwell. This wonderful man had the rare gift of proving himself equal to the greater tasks which confronted him. Whether his well-known professions of humility were

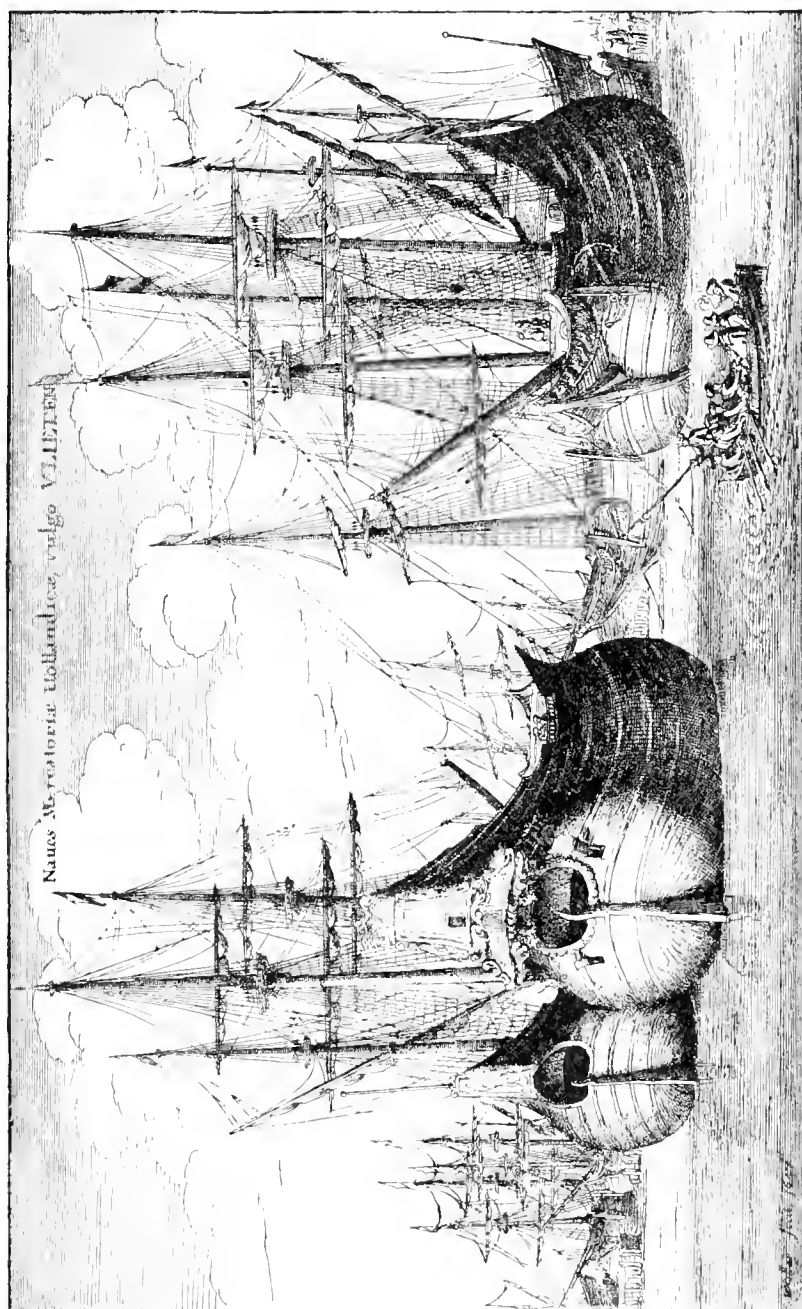


FIG. 20.—Dutch merchantmen. Engraving by Wenzel Hollar (1667-1677).

sincere or not, they were certainly a very sure means of promoting his ambitious ends.

Meanwhile Ireton had completed the subjugation of Ireland, and Monk that of Scotland, while the last ray of hope for the enemies of Parliament was quenched by the total defeat by Robert Blake in the Mediterranean of the royal fleet under Prince Rupert. This victory inspired the English with courage to challenge the maritime supremacy of their neighboring Protestant republic, Holland (Fig. 20), against which the government was incensed because it afforded an asylum to the fugitive Charles Stuart. It was against it that the "Navigation Act" of October 9, 1651, was specially directed, providing that European products could be conveyed to England only in English bottoms or those of the producing country, and non-European products in English ships alone. This act struck Holland a hard blow. The feeling on both sides became so intense that a war broke out in July, 1652. Again and again they encountered each other in naval battles of several days' duration, in which the English admiral, Blake, and the Dutch admirals, Martin Tromp and Michael de Ruyter, covered themselves with glory. On the whole, England, the larger and richer country, had the advantage.

In proportion as the republic was strong externally, it was weak internally. Two motives actuated the "Rump," as people derisively called the minority of the people's representatives holding sway in Parliament: one prompting to conservatism, the other to the use of power for their own personal advantage. Through both they roused the ire of the advanced party among the republicans, and especially of the Independents in the army, whose spokesman and agitator Cromwell had become. Thereupon, when the "Rump" carried its audacity so far as to decree its own permanence, the great general, at the head of a few musketeers and with the approval of his higher officers, drove its members from the house, April 20, 1653. No hand was raised in its defence—the armies, the fleet, the three kingdoms acquiesced, without difficulty, in the *coup d'état*.

The council of war, under Cromwell's presidency, summoned forthwith an assembly of notables selected by it. One of the members was a certain Praise-God Barebone, and therefore this body was known as "Barebone's Parliament." But it exhibited a fanaticism of so frenzied a type that it had to be dissolved within a few weeks.

All parties had shown themselves effete, politically incapable, and religiously intolerant. The situation undeniably called for an exceptional government—a dictatorship, qualified to restore order and unity to the distracted state. Cromwell's position as head of the omnipotent

army, and his incomparable endowments, pointed him out as the fittest man in all England for the high office. On December 16, 1653, this supreme power was offered to him "by the army and the three nations," and he accepted it under the name of "Lord Protector." The highest civil and military authority was to be concentrated in him, but finance and legislation were to be left entirely to a freely elected Parliament. The great majority of the English people hailed with joy the establishment of a strong, reliable authority competent to save them from the evils of anarchy.

One of the Protector's (Fig. 21) first acts was a measure of the



FIG. 21.—Inauguration-medal of the Protectorate; 1653. Original size. (After Henfrey.)

highest wisdom. He decreed the union of Scotland and Ireland with England, in whose Parliament representatives of both of those lands should sit, at first, however, in small numbers. Shortly after, he put an end to the fierce war with Holland. Peace was concluded, June 5, 1654, on terms advantageous to England, whose sovereignty over the sea surrounding her, as well as the Navigation Act, was acknowledged. Besides this, the Protector, through secret negotiations with the influential grand-pensionary of Holland, John de Witt, had effected the enactment of the "Acte van Seclusie," which banished the Stuarts from Dutch territory, and forever excluded the related family of Orange from the dignities of admiral and generalissimo. A still further step toward England's contemplated leadership was the alliance with Sweden. France and Spain vied with each other in courting England's favor.

In melancholy contrast to England's brilliant achievements abroad was the condition of affairs at home. Here Cromwell could not, for a time, see his way clearly, and therefore he was unable to give to his own power, and that of his house, the security and permanency which he desired. A Parliament summoned by him proved so refractory that he at first expelled some of its members, and then, in January, 1655, dis-

solved it. Already he had had to imprison over-zealous republican generals and colonels, and he now saw himself compelled to have recourse to martial law. The land was divided into military districts, over each of which a major-general was set with full discretionary powers. Such a rule of the sword England had never before experienced. But Cromwell was no blind despot, and he used his power for the real good of the country. He befriended the universities and favored learned men and authors, even when they were adversaries. He established a board of trade, whose function was the promotion of English trade and navigation. The postal system was extended and reformed; toleration was practiced in its widest sense; and the whole state experienced under him a material advance unknown before.

But Cromwell (PLATE XI.) was most successful in his foreign policy. Here his hands were entirely free. He had much too high a conception of England's influence not to take part in the conflict between France and Spain. As Spain offered him slighter inducements, and, besides, seemed an easier prey for his schemes of conquest, he declared himself against her. Without any declaration of war, he caused Jamaica to be seized in 1655. Another fleet, under the hero Blake, appeared in the Mediterranean, and compelled the pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany to indemnify England for their favors to Rupert, while, by the bombardment of Tunis, he enforced the liberation of all the English captured by the Barbary pirates. Cromwell also felt called upon to restore England to her position as champion of Protestantism. The Duke of Savoy had instigated a horrible massacre of the poor Waldensians in the valleys of the Western Alps. Through his direct intervention, supported by Mazarin, Cromwell prevailed on the court of Turin to restore to the persecuted people their ancient rights and liberties (1655).

In order to conduct the war with Spain more vigorously, the Protector summoned a new Parliament. But two hundred of its five hundred members—his declared enemies—he excluded from the sittings. The discontent roused by this outrage was somewhat abated by another brilliant achievement of his fleet: it sunk, in view of Cadiz, four great Spanish silver-ships, and took two others with their costly cargoes. Parliament was now entirely subservient to his orders, and, in January, 1657, offered him the hereditary crown of the realm.

The proposal placed Cromwell in a most painful dilemma. The royal dignity was what he secretly desired, for he knew that it offered the best guarantee for the permanence of his own power and that of his house, and that in this way the great majority of the people would be

PLATE XI.



Oliver Cromwell as Protector.

Facsimile (not quite one-third of the original size) of the allegorical engraving by William Faithorne (1616-1691): "The Embleme of England's Distractions as also of her attained and further expected Freedom and Happiness per H. M. 1658."

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII, page 127.

top over for his dynasty. On the other hand, the strongest antipathy to the restoration of monarchy was expressed by the republican Independent party, on which he had hitherto relied for support, and, above all, by the entire army. He felt that the risk was too great, and therefore, in May, 1657, he rejected the crown.



FIG. 22.—The Great Seal of England after the institution of the Protectorate. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of the actual size. (After Henfrey.)

Otherwise, the old constitution was restored, with some modifications. An Upper House was associated with the Commons, the whole executive power was concentrated in the hands of the Protector (Fig. 22), and he

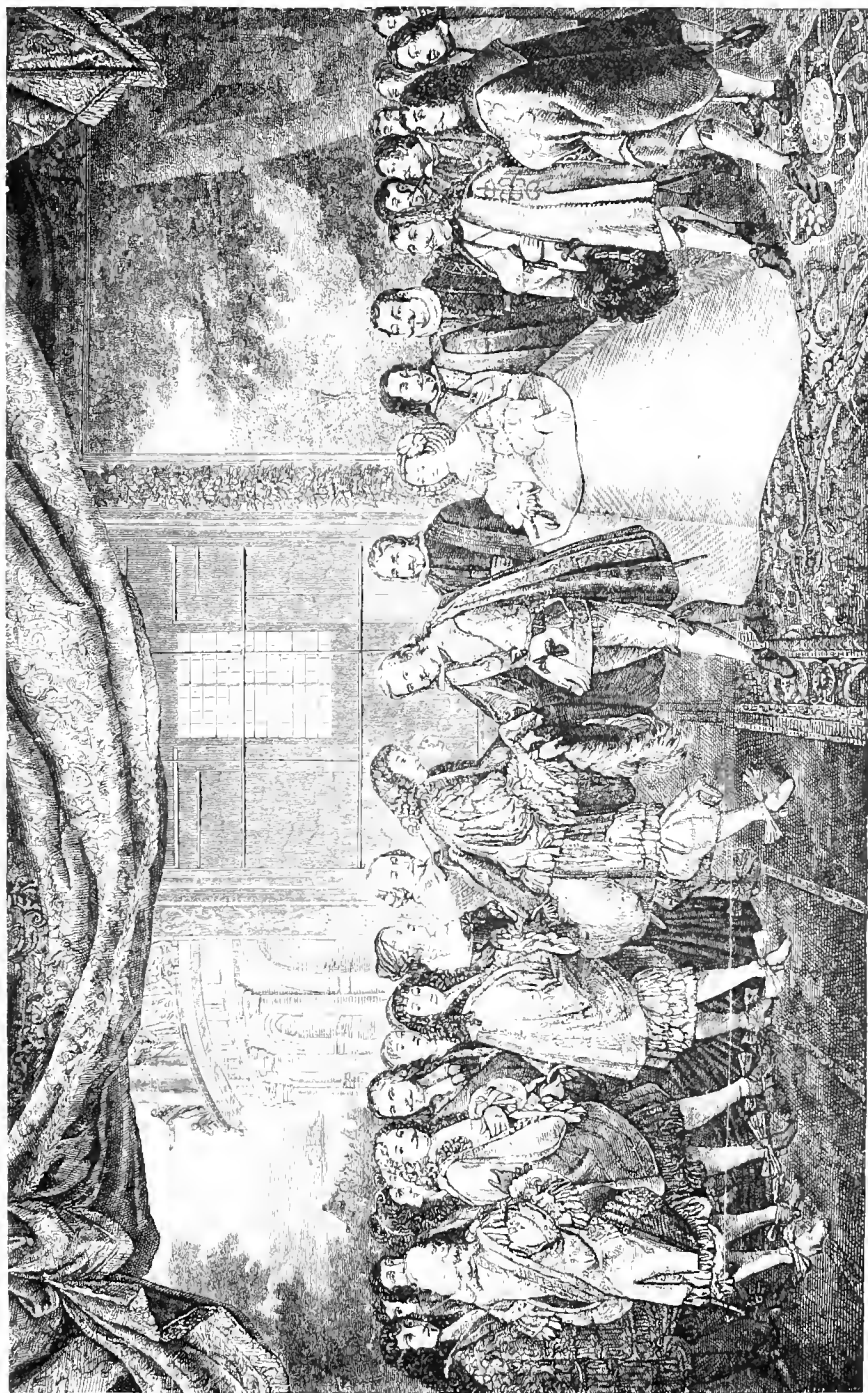
obtained the right of naming his successor. Cromwell, by his refusal of the crown, did lose something of his prestige; but he soon recovered this by a foreign policy equally glorious for himself and for England. In March, 1657, he concluded an offensive alliance with France for the common conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. By this compact, England was to get Mardyke and the then strong and important Dunkirk as compensation for Calais.

The co-operation of the English troops led to the discomfiture of Spain in her long conflict with France. Mardyke was taken in 1657. On June 14, 1658, an allied Anglo-French force under Turenne, on the dunes of Dunkirk, destroyed the army under Don John of Austria, a natural son of King Philip IV. Dunkirk was garrisoned by the English. All Flanders fell into the power of the victors, whose horsemen scoured the country up to the gates of Brussels.

Under the impression produced by this terrible blow, Spain thought only of peace, which it offered to seal by the marriage of the infanta, Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV., with the youthful Louis XIV. Mazarin listened to the proposal the more readily because France also had suffered bitterly under the burdens of war. The ministers—Mazarin and Haro—met on the Isle of Pheasants, in the boundary-river Bidassoa, and, on November 7, 1659, concluded the Peace of the Pyrenees, which received its name from the neighboring mountain-range. The main obstacles to peace had been two conditions urged by Spain—namely, the full pardon of Condé, with restitution of all his dignities, and the renunciation by Maria Theresa of her claims to the Spanish inheritance. The former was acceded to on Spain's surrender of a Belgian fortress, and the latter in consideration of a dowry of 500,000 crowns. France made other valuable acquisitions. She obtained Roussillon, Spain's important possession north of the Pyrenees. In the Netherlands, she got nearly the whole county of Artois, a large part of the duchy of Luxemburg, with the stronghold of Thionville, and a chain of South Belgian fortresses.

The Peace of the Pyrenees (cf. PLATE XII.) marked the consummation of the work at which French statesmen had labored for years. It broke the power of Spain, and transferred its supremacy in Europe to France. At the same time, through Spain's cessions, France gained a most advantageous military frontier, enabling her to advance at any time on Belgium and North Germany.

In the latter country, France had already won a footing. Mazarin's attempt, on the death of Ferdinand III. in 1658, to wrest the imperial crown from the house of Austria, and transfer it to that of Wittelsbach,



Meeting of Louis XIV. with Philip IV., King of Spain, in the year 1660, on the Island of Pheasants.

After the engraving of 1725 by F. J. sculp. (1672-1738); original painting by Charles Lebrun (1619-1690).



had been frustrated; but he had succeeded in making it a condition in the election of the new emperor, Leopold I., that he should not intervene in favor of Spain, either in Italy or the Netherlands. In the summer of 1658, Mazarin instituted the Confederation of the Rhine, in conjunction with the Electors of Mayence and Cologne (and later also Treves), the King of Sweden for his lands in the empire, the house of Guelf, the two Landgraves of Hesse, with Pfalz-Neuburg, as well as with the Bishops of Basel, Strasburg, and Münster. The members were bound to mutual defence and the common maintenance of the Peace of Westphalia. This league afforded France a pretext for interfering at any time in the affairs of Germany, and the King of France became more powerful in that land than the emperor himself.

On June 3, 1660, Louis XIV. was married to the infanta. Of attractive manners, Maria Theresa at first inspired her husband with feelings of the tenderest devotion, which she did not long know how to retain.

So far, everything had conformed to Mazarin's plans. He now extended the influence of France over the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and over the Scandinavian peninsula as well. The former country, after having finally gained its independence at Münster, was at the height of its power. If the eighty years' war had impoverished the treasury, it had, by way of compensation, enriched individuals and largely augmented the resources of the comparatively small country. In her contests with the Spanish navy, the Dutch republic had driven the Spanish flag from the ocean and made the Dutch fleet the first in the world. She all but monopolized international traffic. She had wrested from Spain and Portugal their most profitable colonies—the Moluccas, Java, Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, the Cape of Good Hope—and had secured a firm foothold on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Two great companies—the East Indian (founded 1602) and the West Indian—controlled this world-wide trade and enriched themselves through it. Twenty years later, the commercial marine of Western Europe was estimated at 20,000 vessels, of which 500 to 600 were French, 3000 to 4000 English, and 15,000 to 16,000 Dutch. The Amsterdam exchange was a most important factor in the money-markets of the world.

Great in commerce and industry, skilled in war and diplomacy, rich beyond rivalry, the United Provinces, with their 2,500,000 of inhabitants, constituted one of the first powers of Europe. Nor did art and science flourish less among this enterprising, self-reliant people. It was the time of the highest development of the Dutch school of painting. Three universities disseminated knowledge. Classical philology, mathe-

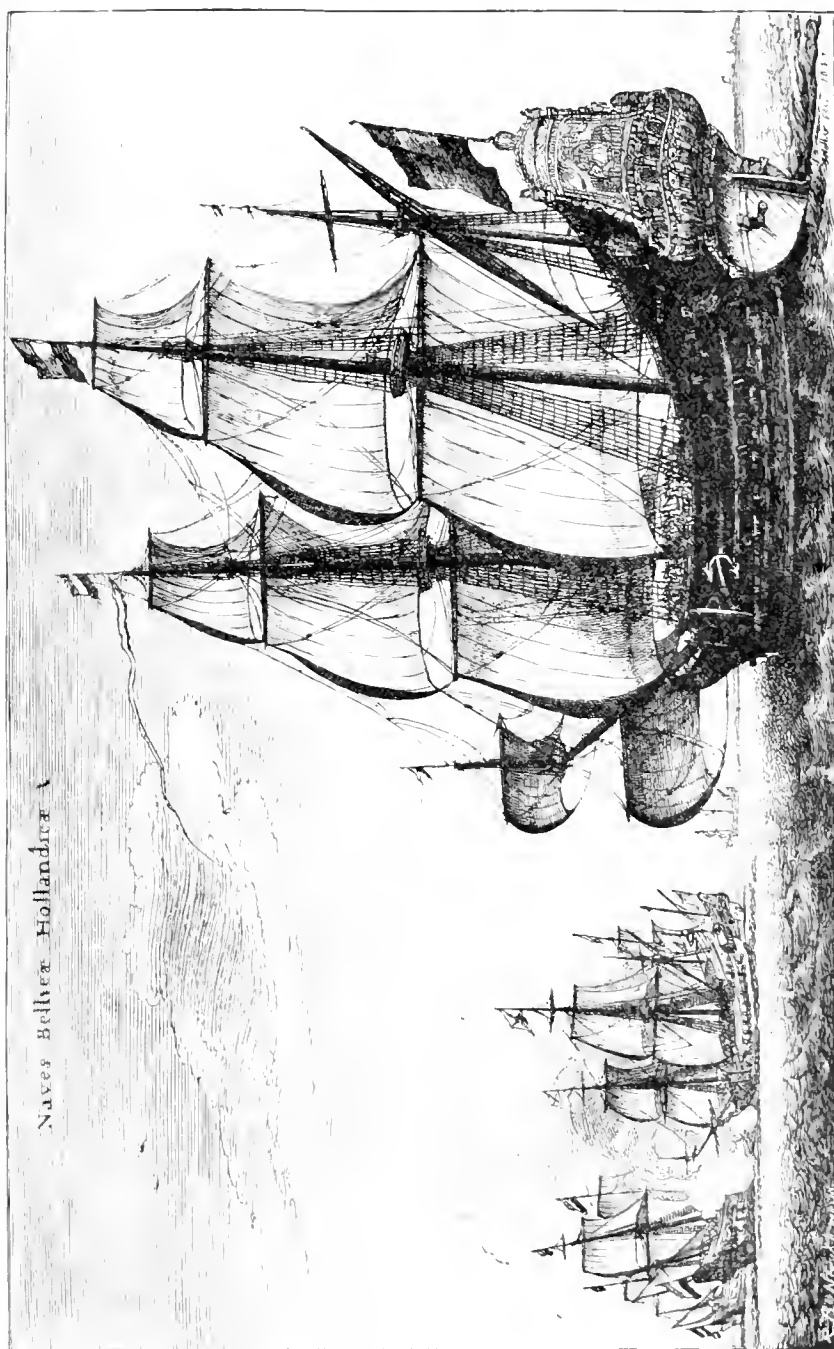


FIG. 23.—Dutch warships. Engraving, 1617, by Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677).

matics, medicine, jurisprudence, were cultivated with extraordinary zeal. Above all, the United Provinces distinguished themselves by their religious tolerance. Orthodox Calvinists, indeed, were alone qualified for offices of state, but every confession remained unmolested. The Netherlands thus became the asylum for the persecuted of all Europe, whether they suffered on account of their belief or their unbelief. The freedom of the press was all but unrestricted.

Nevertheless this flourishing commonwealth suffered from some evils in its constitution, and especially from the conflict between the city oligarchies and the stadtholder; the former leaned for support on the regular authorities of the state, which derived their powers from the city oligarchies, and the latter depended on his predominance in material force through the army and fleet (Fig. 23).

The contest grew especially fierce when, after the Peace of Westphalia, the province of Holland took it upon itself to diminish considerably the number of troops. The general stadtholder was then William II., a young, enterprising prince, full of courage and of glowing ambition. He at once had recourse to force, seized some of the members of the estates of Holland, and invested Amsterdam so closely that the province had to pledge itself to repeal its measures and to submit to the decisions of the States-General. This success encouraged William II. to adopt plans for the further aggrandizement of his house, but he died suddenly of small-pox, in November, 1650. His son, William III., was born a week after his father's death. As there were no other male representatives of the house of Orange, a constituent assembly, which met in 1651 under the influence of Holland, took advantage of this time of weakness to reduce the central power to a minimum and to abolish the office of general stadtholder and commander-in-chief of the republic.

At the head of the republic stood now the leader of the aristocratic party, the grand-pensionary of Holland, John de Witt. He was a thoughtful, well-informed politician and especially adroit in negotiations. A pupil of Descartes, he fostered science and art. While zealous for the glory of his fatherland, he was remarkable for the simplicity and modesty of his manners. But all these admirable qualities were converted into an injury for the state by his blind, partisan hatred of the house of Orange, to deprive which of any prospect of a return to power he entered into the closest, but most humiliating, relations with France.

French protection was sought by Sweden. In 1644, Gustavus's daughter, Christina, had undertaken in person the government. She was well educated, clear-sighted, fluent of speech, and of strong intellect;

but, at the same time, excitable, over-confident, of unbridled passions, and fond of adventures and constant change. She soon became tired of the cares of state, and, in order the more freely to indulge her caprices, abdicated in 1654. In the following year she was received into the Roman Catholic church, and spent the rest of her life partly in Rome and partly in France. She died at Rome in 1689.

Christina was succeeded on the throne by her cousin, the Count Palatine of Zweibrücken (*Deux-Ponts*), with the title of Charles X. Gustavus (1654–1660). He found Sweden full of the seeds of internal weakness. Class distinctions had become more and more marked; the townspeople and peasants had grown everywhere poorer, as the nobles waxed richer, more arrogant, and tyrannical. As the latter class was exempt from taxation, the state finances were in a miserable condition. The army, numbering 50,000 excellent troops, was alone in a good state. From a consideration of these facts, the king was led to think that Sweden could be saved from internal discord and utter impoverishment only by a successful war and the spoils that it would yield. As the most convenient object for attack, he selected the all but ruined republic of Poland, at whose cost he hoped to realize the project of Vasa—namely, the union of all the lands of the Baltic coasts under the sway of Sweden.

In July, 1655, on the most frivolous pretexts, he invaded Poland, and, finding it utterly unprepared, completely conquered it in a few months. Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg was compelled to acknowledge Sweden instead of Poland as the suzerain of his duchy of Prussia. But so soon as the Poles had recovered from their first amazement, their national and religious antipathy to Protestant Sweden asserted itself. In the south, there began a wide-spread rising, which placed a numerically strong, if undisciplined, force at the disposal of the king, John Casimir. Only a few fortresses held out for Charles X., but he succeeded, with the help of Brandenburg troops, in defeating the Poles near Warsaw, July 28–30, 1656. But this victory was not of lasting importance, and Charles had to concede the sovereignty of East Prussia to Frederick William of Brandenburg.

The situation became more and more unfavorable for Sweden. The emperor sent an army to the aid of the Poles, and, on their confirming, in the treaties of Bromberg and Wehlau (1657), Frederick William in his sovereignty in Prussia, he too took up their cause. Meanwhile Frederick III. of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and Charles retired from Poland, to throw himself, in July, 1657, upon the nearer Denmark.

Here the nobles had shamelessly plundered the state, and let the army and fleet go to ruin ; so that Charles was able, at his first onset, to make himself master of the peninsula of Jutland. In the winter of 1657-1658, he crossed the Little Belt on the ice and invaded the island of Fünen. This resulted in the capture of the greater part of the Danish army. Still more hazardous was the feat of crossing the Great Belt to Zealand. Without hope of defending Copenhagen, Frederick III., in February, 1658, signed the ignominious Peace of Röskilde, which made over to Sweden the provinces of Halland, Schonen, and Blekingen, on the Scandinavian mainland, the island of Bornholm, and the Norwegian district of Trondhjem, besides making Denmark completely subservient to the victorious country.

Within six months, Charles found a new cause of quarrel with Denmark. Against his second attack on Copenhagen, the citizens defended themselves with valor and success. The Elector of Brandenburg drove the Swedes out of the peninsula of Jutland, and wrested from them both West Prussia and Courland. A Dutch fleet defeated their squadron, and finally the Brandenburg troops, the imperialists, and the Poles crossed over to Fünen, and, near Nyborg, destroyed a large Swedish army-corps.

Sweden's artificial greatness would now have totally collapsed, had not France intervened in her behalf. Ever since the Thirty Years' War, she had recognized in Sweden her indispensable ally in the north and east of Europe. She came forward on her side, when the sudden death of Charles X. Gustavus (February 23, 1660) facilitated the conclusion of peace. In May, 1660, this was signed in Oliva, a monastery near Dantzic, between Sweden, Brandenburg, Poland, and the emperor ; in June, at Copenhagen, between Sweden and Denmark. These treaties left to Sweden Livonia, Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen.

At the time when France was protecting her weaker allies, and so binding them closer to herself, she was relieved of a too powerful and dangerous friend, Oliver Cromwell. This great man had become well-nigh worn out in his struggle with the political parties in his own land. His attempt to constitute a good Upper House failed, and ultimately he had to dissolve his second Parliament. The people were weary of his unconstitutional reign of force, and plots were daily discovered and cruelly crushed. Dissensions broke out in his own family. He recognized that such a government had no elements of permanence and called for constant measures of precaution against its secret adversaries. He became a victim of fever, and the death of his favorite daughter, Lady Claypole, completely prostrated him. In the arms of his old

friends, the Independents, he died on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

Cromwell (Fig. 24) was no tyrant from inclination. Yet he was by




FIG. 24.—Facsimile of the signature of Oliver Cromwell, from a letter to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, dated Westminster, June 13, 1656. (Berlin, Royal Privy Archives.)

no means scrupulous in the choice of means for the attainment and maintenance of power. In pecuniary matters, he was altogether unselfish. He left to his family a smaller fortune than that which he possessed at the beginning of his career.

Abroad, Cromwell had caused England to be again recognized as a great power (Fig. 25). It is true, his ways were not always the best.



FIG. 25.—Cromwell's Privy Seal for England, after the institution of the Protectorate. Actual size. (After Henfrey.)

He allowed himself to be induced by old prejudices and the allurements of momentary advantages to take the side of France, already too powerful, against enfeebled Spain.

His eldest son, Richard, who succeeded him in his high office, was a good-natured, well-meaning man, but devoid of all special capacity,



Embarkation of Charles II., King of England, from Scheveningen for England June 2, 1660.

Reduced facsimile of the copperplate engraving by P. H. Schut.

1. Charles II. 2. The Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange. 3. The Lords and deputies of the United Provinces. 4. The Crown Princess. 5. William III. of Orange and his nephew. 6. Boat to convey the king to the ship of the English Admiral. 7. The Duke of York. 8. The Duke of Gloucester. 9. Admiral Montagu's ship. 10. The Admiral's ship and the English fleet of seventeen vessels. 11. Fishing-craft and other boats. 12. The North Sea. 13. The beach. 14. Carriages of the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange, the Lords, deputies, and persons of rank. 15. Nine companies of infantry. 16. Thirty-eight cannon. 17. Four companies of cavalry. 18. Signal tower of Scheveningen. 19. Six companies of the militia of The Hague, where the king had spent eight days.

political or military. Strife soon arose between the new Parliament, which assembled in January, 1659, and the army, in which Richard inclined to the side of the people's representatives. Thereupon the soldiers compelled Richard to dissolve this body (April, 1659), and practically deposed the Protector from power (which, shortly thereafter, he formally resigned). Before the Protectorate thus came to an end, the soldiers had recalled the "Rump," which, six years before, they themselves had expelled. But they could not come to terms with this, and again dissolved it in the autumn of 1659.

Everyone in England was heartily tired of these continual revolutions and the dominion of the sword. The army itself was disunited, and had no respect for its leaders. General Monk, commanding in Scotland, now resolved to restore peace to England and to bring back monarchy, so openly longed for by the great bulk of the English people. His troops were entirely devoted to him, and, in January, 1660, he advanced with them into England. The "Rump" had come together again in December, 1659, and, after Monk's arrival in London, it readmitted to their seats the members of the Presbyterian majority whom Pride had driven out in 1648. Then this Long Parliament, after an existence of twenty years, ordered a new election, which resulted in the return of a great royalist majority, and finally dissolved. The new representatives opened negotiations with Charles II., who, after proclaiming an amnesty for all but the "regicides," made his entry into London, May 29, 1660, amid the acclamations of the people (PLATE XIII.). The soldiers were, for the most part, disbanded.

For France, monarchy under Charles II. was a much less formidable rival than the republic under Cromwell. This was a new gain for Mazarin. In this latter country, also, the throes of the civil war had been ended. Industry and commerce flourished vigorously, and Paris had become the richest city in Europe. The once so-hated Mazarin now saw himself admired. He ruled France, in spiritual as in secular affairs, with unlimited sway. The reign of Louis XIV. by no means possesses that majestic unity in which it lives in the imagination of posterity. The first eighteen years belong rather to Mazarin, Condé, and Turenne.

But Mazarin (Fig. 26), even at this culminating point of his life, did not give up his desire for gain. He drove a scandalous trade in the most important offices, defrauded the state in contracts, and then put out his ill-gotten boards at interest.

On March 9, 1661, Mazarin, after ruling France for eighteen years, passed away. The incomparably stronger and more creative Cromwell had seen his purposes frustrated, while the weaker Mazarin succeeded



FIG. 26.—Mazarin. A reduced facsimile of an engraving by Peter van Schuppen (1623–1707). Original painting by Pierre Mignard (1612–1695).

in all for which he strove. The former resisted the ruling tendencies in the English people; the latter made those prevailing in France of service to himself.

Louis XIV. had been brought up in the political faith of the two cardinals, that the exercise of monarchical power should be separated from the person of the sovereign. The doctrine had indeed been impressed on

the royal child that the lives and property of his subjects were unconditionally at the ruler's disposal, and that he was omnipotent through the will of God. But, with the details of administration, he ought to have nothing to do; these should be entrusted to one in whom he had confidence. From the manner in which Louis devolved all business on the cardinal, it appeared as if he completely accepted this principle, so comfortable for himself. But there was within the young prince a firmness of will, a high conception of self, and a boundless ambition, suspected in their full extent by no one. On the very morning after Mazarin's death, he appeared before the astonished ministers with the declaration: "Gentlemen, I have called you together to say to you that hitherto I have been content to leave the conduct of affairs to the deceased cardinal. Now, however, it is time that I myself should rule. You will aid me by your counsel whenever I apply to you, but I forbid you to sign any document, however trivial—even a pass—without my order. You will make a report to me daily in person, and show special favor to no one." Thus began the absolutism of Louis XIV.

CHAPTER IV.

LOUIS XIV. AS ABSOLUTE MONARCH; THE WAR OF DEVOLUTION.

THE resolution of the young king to conduct the government himself seemed like a passing caprice. Men expected every day to see him return to his amusements and delegate the burden of affairs to his first minister, a position which everyone assigned to the superintendent of the finances, Nicholas Fouquet. He had recommended himself to Mazarin by his abilities and fidelity, in recognition of which the minister had promoted him to the second highest office in the state. But Fouquet, who was entirely devoid of the sense of morality, improved the opportunity to plunder shamelessly the public funds. With the sums stolen, he sought to make himself an independent power in the state. At the same time, he led a life of more than royal luxury, some of the foremost ladies of France were his mistresses, and yet he rendered assistance to such famous authors as Corneille, La Fontaine, and Molière. He planned to involve the king in a whirlpool of amusements and excesses which might allure his mind from the affairs of state, when a Mentor appeared for the sovereign in the person of another colleague of Mazarin—namely, Jean Baptiste Colbert.

This man, born at Rheims in 1619, was the son of a draper of only moderate means. He entered the service of Mazarin, and in it showed such a talent for finance that the cardinal recommended him warmly to Louis XIV. Colbert was a man of strict integrity in his relations with the state, and of unwearied assiduity. Comprehensive in his views and of high aims, he was obstinate, severe, careful of his own interests and those of his family, and, on the whole, not above the false economic views of his time. Interest for the state and self-interest combined to induce him to expose to the king Fouquet's incredible faithlessness and depredations. In vain did Louis warn the latter, of whose eminent endowments he was by no means unaware. Fouquet persisted in his course, and was arrested in the midst of a brilliant banquet which he was giving to the king, while at the same time his castles were surprised and captured (September 5, 1661). In contempt of all legal forms, Louis himself sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. The



FIG. 27.—Francis Michael Letellier, Marquis de Louvois. Facsimile of a copper-engraving by Gerard Edelineck (1640-1707); original painting by Pierre Mignard (1612-1695).

unfortunate man died, not without the sympathy of the public, in the Alpine fortress of Pinerolo, in 1680.

Colbert, his foe and denouncer, was his successor, and was later made also superintendent of the royal buildings, as well as of fine arts and manufactures. Besides Colbert, there were two other ministers of the first rank, both trained in the school of Mazarin—Lyonne and

Letellier. Like Colbert, they were both of comparatively humble origin, for one of Louis's most carefully observed maxims was to exclude the great from the business of the state. His ministers should be the creatures of his grace, dependent on him for everything.

Hugh de Lyonne was a man highly gifted by nature. Impetuous in all his impulses, he did not know how to spare himself, either in regard to work or enjoyments. His vigorous, penetrating intellect, aided by an unrivaled familiarity with business, saved him much trouble. Inexhaustible in resources, far-seeing, and subtle beyond measure, he and his assistants were of the most eminent service to his master.

Much more renowned than Lyonne was Francis Michael Letellier (Fig. 27), Marquis de Louvois. Born in 1641, and son of a minister of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., he was, while still in his twenty-first year, associated with his father in the administration of the police and army. Later, in 1668, he became minister of war. With great astuteness, he won the favor of the king by professing to be his pupil. Without moral feeling, scornful to cynicism, by nature violent and brutal, he was, as a politician, guilty of many faults and crimes; while, as an administrator, he was without a peer—eminent, above all, for clearness of insight and sound judgment. Essentially a practical man, rather than one of fancies and fundamental ideas, he treated whatever business he had on hand with wonderful adroitness and dexterity. Indefatigable as a worker, he did not hesitate about the means to be used for clearing obstacles out of his path. He got rid of the last relics of feudalism in the army, and brought it completely under the control of the central power. The army was thus transformed into a homogeneous whole.

Every branch of the public service called for similar treatment, for Richelieu and Mazarin had been too much engrossed with politics in general and with the position of France abroad to be able to devote sufficient attention to the details of administration. Louis XIV. entered with creditable zeal on the removal of all these irregularities and disorders. His time was most carefully distributed, in order that his pleasures might not interfere with the diligent and punctual discharge of state business. His chief delight was in the chase and in the construction and supervision of buildings. Versailles, the royal palace, enlarged and embellished by him, is a monument of his architectural taste. After becoming king, he studied Latin, in order to be able to understand the documents issued by the papal chancery. Although as yet unaffected by the gloomy and intolerant piety which marked his later years, he was careful to show himself regular and fervent in his church duties. But he gave

loose rein to his passions, and the death of his mother, Anne of Austria, in 1666, freed him from the last moral restraint.

Louis and Colbert adopted the most rigorous methods against the systematic peculations of the treasury officials, and thereby enabled considerable reductions to be made in the *taille*, or poll-tax, that pressed so heavily on the lower classes. Less commendable was the arbitrary reduction of the rate of interest on the national debt, by which the state creditors were defrauded of something like half of their income. Colbert's view was to relieve the poor at the expense of the rich. With this aim, he diminished the direct, and proportionally increased the indirect, taxes; for the latter were paid by the whole population, while the former fell exclusively on the unprivileged lower classes. The number of officials was materially diminished. The king took a lively interest in the work. Every item of expenditure came no less than six times under his eye. The financial results were brilliant in a high degree. The credit of the government was restored, so that at the end of 1662 it could pay its officials and officers not only all arrears of salary but also their incomes for a year in advance. Its credit was established abroad by its payment to England of 5,000,000 livres for the fortress of Dunkirk.

Nor was Colbert less assiduous in the promotion of industry and commerce. He favored protection in the widest sense. It was then the general belief that, through legislative measures, one single state could be made the emporium of the world's commerce; that its exports could be immeasurably increased, while it could itself be almost independent of imports from abroad. In this way, it was thought that the greatest possible amount of money could be amassed in a particular country; for, in the abundance of gold and silver, men at that time saw the sole measure of a nation's wealth. Colbert forbade, therefore, the export of the precious metals, coined or uncoined. All industries were organized under the guild system, in which the manner of producing wares was prescribed by strict regulations enforced by heavy penalties. This one-sided promotion of manufactures and commerce, to the neglect of husbandry, known as the "mercantile system," Colbert adopted and elaborated with logical consistency, and made it for a century and a half the dominant system in Europe (Fig. 28).

Louis was, on every possible occasion, prompt to suppress the last relics of opposition to absolute monarchy. It is true that he never made use of the famous expression, "*L'état c'est moi*" ("I am the state"), but such words are perfectly consistent with his character. He so humbled the once proud Parlements that they no longer ventured even to remonstrate against his edicts. Nor was greater forbearance shown to the



LA GALERIE DE L'HÔTEL, *ou* Louv.

A MONSIEUR COLBERT

MARQUIS DE VILLACRETE ET DE PATY, SEIGNEUR DE S'EMEN, COURANGE, LA COUR, S'ÉLIAL, FONTAINE ET AUTRES LIEUX; CONSEILLER DU ROY EN SES CONSEILS, PREMIER MAÎTRE D'HÔTEL DE LA CHAMBRE, SURINTENDANT ET ORDONNATEUR GÉNÉRAL DES BÂTIMENS, JARDINS, ARTS ET MANUFACTURES DE SA MAJESTÉ.

Quelques actions d'Alcandre représentées en tapisserie sur les Tableaux de M. de Brui.

FIG. 27. A visit of Colbert to the "Gobelins" tapestry-manufactory. A reduced facsimile of a copper engraving by Sébastien Leclerc (1637-1714).

nobility, when they tried to assert their independence. In 1665, the king sent a commission, invested with extraordinary powers, into Auvergne, to hold for it and the neighboring provinces a solemn judicial session, called the *Grands Jours*. The commission went to work with uncompromising severity. Three hundred and forty-nine nobles fled, to escape sentence of death; ninety-six were banished; the property of most of the guilty was confiscated. Similar "great days" were also held for other southern provinces.

No less mighty did Louis desire to show himself abroad. To make the power of France predominant everywhere, and to be recognized himself as the first monarch of Christendom, were the inspiring principles of his foreign policy. He wished to be regarded with wonder and awe, as master of Europe.

Louis's marriage with the eldest daughter of the King of Spain did not mitigate the old hostility of France to the house of Hapsburg. Spain fell more and more into a state of feebleness and disintegration. Its misfortunes were crowned by the death of its faithful minister, Don Luis de Haro.

Against such a weak foe, Louis considered everything fair. His minister, Lyonne, had, through plausible representations and bribery, blinded the European states to their true interests, which clearly lay in combating French supremacy. An article in the Peace of the Pyrenees pledged France to lend no support to the Portuguese rebels. Nevertheless, Louis and his minister set to work to injure their hated rival, through the secret dispatch of money, officers, and veterans to Lisbon. Every clear-sighted man in Europe now began to regard the youthful ruler as a menace to the honor and independence of the western nations.

All the powers and statesmen that dreaded France set their hopes on the King of England, Charles II. (Fig. 29). Above all, the English people themselves were confident that this antipode of Cromwell would resist the arrogant and rapacious policy of France. But Charles II. was indolent, selfish, untruthful, and abandoned to the grossest profligacy. Two objects he kept ever in view: to be able to lead a life of pleasure without restraint, and to keep in check the constantly growing power of the English Parliament. For both these objects, he believed he needed the help of France. For these aims, he sacrificed the honor and the interests of his country. Despite the murmurings of his people, he married a Catholic wife, a princess of Portugal, solely in conformity with the wish of the French government that Portugal might be able to look for help to England. He then scandalously traded off Dunkirk, the costly conquest of the Protector, to Louis for 5,000,000 livres.

Having secured the English king, France now proceeded to deal more insolently with the states of the continent. In order to humble Pope Alexander VII., the Duke of Créquy, French ambassador in Rome, purposely provoked a conflict with the pope's Corsican guards. The duke's



FIG. 29.—Charles II., King of England. After a copper-engraving, 1736, by George Vertue (1684-1756). Original painting by Peter Lely (1617-1680).

men were beaten. Louis at once broke off diplomatic relations with Rome, seized the papal county of Avignon, and equipped an army against the States of the Church. Alexander, in the Treaty of Pisa (February, 1664), submitted entirely to the brutal demands of the

“eldest son of the church,” and pledged himself to full submission to France in the future.

Thus was Spain enfeebled and humbled, England fettered, Italy and the papacy made subject to the arbitrary will of France. Even Germany, exhausted and dismembered, was threatened with suffocation in the encircling arms of France. The King of Denmark was made to join the Confederation of the Rhine, for his German possessions, and Duke Charles of Lorraine was compelled to cede his last fortress—*Marsal*—and to grant a broad military road through his whole territory. Thus was the independence of this important frontier-land sacrificed in favor of France (1663). But the interior of Germany also was to behold the French banners. French troops marched to the help of the emperor against the Turks. Then a French corps marched into the heart of Germany, to bring Erfurt into subjection to the Elector of Mayence, a member of the Confederation of the Rhine.

But nearest of all to Louis's heart lay the acquisition of a part or the whole of Spain. To this end, his marriage with Maria Theresa could be made of service, for he felt himself in no way restrained by the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees. He had caused it to be made a condition in the marriage-contract between Charles II. of England and the infanta of Portugal, that the former should place 4000 English soldiers and eight frigates at the disposal of Portugal. These were in French pay and commanded by a German—General von Schomberg—also a stipendiary of France. In Lisbon, the influence of the queen, Maria Francisca de Nemours-Aumale, was supreme. This French-woman would hear of no peace between Portugal and Spain, whose army and navy were in as wretched condition as its finances. On June 17, 1665, Schomberg gained a decisive victory over the Spaniards at *Villaviciosa*, and the independence of Portugal was secured.

Enfeebled through sickness and age, Philip IV. died on September 17 of the same year. But Louis's hopes of obtaining the whole Spanish inheritance were not to be realized. Four years before Philip's death, a son was born to him from his second marriage. He now ascended the throne as Charles II. Besides this, Philip had married his younger daughter, Margaret, to his Hapsburg cousin, the Emperor Leopold, on the express condition that, in case of Charles's death, the second son of this marriage should be heir to the Spanish monarchy. Thus robbed of the prospect of inheriting all Spain, Louis resolved to win at least a portion, and for this the so-called “right of devolution” should serve as a pretext.

In certain Belgian provinces, there was a peculiar law to the effect

that the whole inheritance belonged exclusively to the issue of a first marriage, upon whom it "devolved" the moment a second marriage was contracted by either parent, who was to enjoy only the usufruct of the estate during life. This usage, which was confined to private property, Louis now arbitrarily resolved to apply in the domain of politics. His wife was the only child of Philip IV., by his first marriage; consequently the Catholic king, from the time of his second marriage, in 1649, had only a life-interest in that part of the Netherlands in which this exceptional law was valid—Maria Theresa being the real owner, and entitled to enter into possession on the death of her father. As Maria Anna, an Austrian princess, second wife of Philip IV., and regent for her infant son, rejected this claim, Louis decided to go to war.

Louis was sure of the Dutch republic. De Witt had let the army fall into decay, seeing in it an instrument for the restoration of the Orange party. On the other hand, he had developed the fleet, as implying no danger to the internal constitution of the republic, and promoting its maritime greatness. For defence on land, he looked to the French alliance, which was the more indispensable to the republic because of the hostile attitude of Charles II. of England. To make the Dutch entirely dependent on him and to give England occupation, Louis had instigated Charles to begin open war in 1665. The result was the reverse of what Charles looked for. He was deeply humiliated by his weaker adversary. The Dutch hero, de Ruyter, sailed up the Thames and the Medway, burned part of the English fleet, and caused London itself to tremble. The indignation of the English people made Charles cling all the closer to his French master.

In other directions also, Lyonne manifested an almost unrivaled energy and astuteness. He occupied Spain at home by restraining Portugal from making peace with her, and inducing the latter to prefer an alliance with France. He concluded treaties with the members of the Confederation of the Rhine, in which they promised to refuse imperial auxiliaries a passage to Belgium. Suddenly, May 8, 1667, 60,000 French troops, under Turenne, crossed the frontiers into the Spanish Netherlands, and within four months the land was conquered.

The universal indignation at this act of violence drove the governments of England and the United Netherlands to conclude a peace at Breda, in July, 1667, by which the former conceded Surinam and many commercial advantages to the Dutch, receiving, in return, New Amsterdam (now New York) and New Jersey, in America. Public sentiment in both nations compelled the two powers to devise means for putting a speedy end to the Franco-Spanish war. Emperor Leopold,

too, interested himself to save Belgium from entire subjugation to France.

But French diplomacy knew how to win this adversary over. Its representative in Vienna, Gremonville, bribed the emperor's most influential minister, Prince Wenceslaus Lobkowitz, and both united in persuading Leopold that he was much more likely to secure a considerable interest in the Spanish monarchy as the ally of France than as its enemy. From purely selfish motives, the emperor betrayed his Spanish cousin, whose lands he had, by a secret treaty of January, 1668, already shared with Louis. On January 23, 1668, England and Holland entered into an alliance, which, on the subsequent adhesion of Sweden, received the name of the Triple Alliance. This was ostensibly directed against France, with the view of compelling it to peace; but this peace was to be based on the claims advanced by the French king in Vienna.

Spain refused to recognize the unrighteous act of spoliation, and preferred to make peace with Portugal at any cost. Thereupon a French army under Condé invaded the neutral Franche-Comté, and subdued the defenceless land in fourteen days. After such a severe loss, Spain had to submit, and concluded a peace with France at Aix-la-Chapelle, May 2, 1668. It received back Franche-Comté, and, in turn, ceded to France a chain of the most important South Belgian fortresses, including Charleroi, Douai, Tournai, Lille, Courtrai, and Bergues.

The war of devolution enhanced the fame and prestige of Louis XIV. and his kingdom in all Europe, yet the monarch was not satisfied with its results. He had not yet made the Spanish Netherlands a province of France. This check he ascribed, above all, to hostility prompted by Holland, and resolved to take vengeance on these insolent shopkeepers. Moreover, he disliked the free development of Dutch shipping at the expense of the growing commerce of France. He waited only till the diplomacy of Lyonne should have woven its toils around the victim, and till Louvois and Colbert should have furnished him with the most ample means of satisfying his revenge.

Colbert (Fig. 30) is to be regarded as the creator of the French navy. He introduced the system of manning it by conscription, and enforced an admirable system of naval instruction. As a financier also, he raised the credit of France to a point attained by no other state, and placed unheard-of resources at the disposal of His Most Christian Majesty. Undoubtedly these results were purchased at the cost of ever-increasing suffering on the part of the people, which found expression in repeated revolts in various provinces; but these were, of course, repressed with terrible severity.



FIG. 39. Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Jean Andran (1667-1756). Original painting by Nicolas Largillière (1656-1746).

The country-people suffered most through Colbert's mercantile system, for their interests were sacrificed to promote manufactures and commerce. The import of foreign products that could compete with French manufactures was, from the year 1667, obstructed by a prohibitory tariff, while the export of raw materials was absolutely forbidden, that these might be reserved at a low price for home manufacturers. Still more injurious to husbandry were the ordinances fixing the price of grain at figures so low as to be altogether unremunerative. In many cases, the peasants gave up the culture of their fields, from which they derived so little profit. The consequence was, that only the best lands were cultivated. But, by a royal edict issued in 1667, Colbert restored to the rural communities all their common lands which had been sold since the beginning of the century. The original buyers got a fair compensation, and he sought to restrain them from bringing suits about the lands. It cannot be denied that, on the whole, he advanced the industrial interests of France. Colbert's system was imitated by most other states, and produced everywhere an artificial but transient state of industrial prosperity at the expense of the majority of the people, who were engaged in agriculture.

The deeply depressed maritime trade of France also claimed his special attention. Up to this time, exports were carried almost exclusively in Dutch bottoms. Colbert now encouraged, through bounties, shipbuilding in France, while he imposed tonnage-dues on foreign ships entering French harbors. Thus the commercial marine of France rose to be at least the third in the world. In the same spirit, he established numerous companies which were supported by the state, and which enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with foreign countries. The most important of these was the East India Company. Above all, he labored for the expansion of the colonies of France, which, at the time of his death, were certainly the most extensive in the world, comprising, as they did, the greater part of North America.

No less laudable were Colbert's labors in the construction and improvement of roads and canals. The canal of Languedoc, connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean, was completed by this indefatigable minister in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties. No less centralizing was his policy in regard to administration. In order to break conclusively the power of the high nobles, he stripped the provincial governors of all the functions which they still possessed, and devolved these on the restored *intendants*. These powerful officials were, in turn, controlled by commissioners dispatched from time to time by the minister to the provinces. By these means, the central authority was absolutely dominant everywhere.

In 1667, the rights of remonstrance and of registering royal edicts at discretion were withdrawn from the Parlements. Even as judicial bodies, their powers were limited to the utmost by the formulation of new codes. A royal police, wholly independent of the Parlement of Paris, kept the capital in check. A royal *lettre de cachet* sufficed to shut up in prison for an indefinite time the individual named in it, without trial. From every decision of the Parlements, there was an appeal to the privy council under the presidency of the chancellor.

Still greater than the aversion of the government to the Parlements was its dislike of every form of popular representation. The States-General were no longer convoked, and the rights of the provincial estates were confined to those of petition and assessment of taxes; law-making and the imposition of taxes were thus absolutely in the hands of the sovereign and his ministers. Freedom of the press was proscribed on penalty of the rack, the galleys, or the scaffold. Men of any independence of spirit could not be tolerated. Provincial and communal independence, even individuality of character, were crushed out. The system was undoubtedly not without benefit to the people, and it placed immense and easily available resources at the disposal of the government, but it impressed too much uniformity on the French character. The system of oppression engendered in the people feelings of bitterness against the state and the king, which were to bear fruit more than a century later. In yet another way did the government sow the seeds of the Revolution. While stripping the nobles of all political power, it left them in possession of their social privileges. They alone not only constituted the court, received preferment in the army, and were endowed with pensions, but also were exempt from all direct taxes and free to oppress their tenants by forced labor.

In regard to religion, Colbert was an advanced thinker and a foe to clerical influence. Of the forty-four minor festivals of the year, he succeeded in abolishing nearly half—a real boon to the people, morally as well as materially. For this, the “pictists”—a power at the court—heartily hated him. Even Louvois joined their cabal, out of jealousy of his colleague’s influence. Louvois also was indispensable to Louis, for he labored unremittingly to improve the military system. He organized the standing army on a permanent basis and inspired it with military spirit. Thus the army became ever more effective, ever more ready to respond to the manifold claims on it consequent on the development of the sciences of war and fortification. Regularity of uniform, iron discipline, continuous drill and exercise in the field, made the French army a model for those of all Europe. In number it exceeded anything hitherto



FIG. 31.



FIG. 32.



FIG. 33.



FIG. 34.

FIGS. 31-34.—Types of the infantry of Louis XIV. From "Le Marechal de Bataille, contenant le maniment des armes, les evolutions, etc. Par de Lostelucan, Marechal de bataille des camps et armées de sa Majesté, sergent major de ses gardes françoises. Paris, MDCXLVII."



FIG. 35.



FIG. 36.



FIG. 37.



FIG. 38.

FIGS. 35-38. Types of the infantry of Louis XIV. From "Le Maréchal de Bataille."



FIG. 39.



FIG. 40.



FIG. 41.



FIG. 42.

FIGS. 39-42.—Types of the infantry of Louis XIV. From "Le Marechal de Bataille."

known, comprising 47,000 cavalry, 10,000 dragoons, 120,000 infantry (Figs. 31-42), and 100,000 men for garrison-duty. The weapons, too, were thoroughly reformed. The maintenance of this immense army was provided for through the organization of a system of magazines, and sick and wounded soldiers were cared for in the hospitals, among which was the "Hôtel des Invalides" of Paris. Against the consequences of defeat, France was protected through Vauban's unrivaled skill in fortification.

Sustained by an absolute central authority, an admirably ordered financial system, an army as efficient as it was numerous, defended by hundreds of fortresses, France was in a position to intervene with irresistible power in the affairs of Europe, and in no way shunned a collision even with the German empire.

CHAPTER V.

GERMANY UNDER LEOPOLD I. AND THE FIRST COALITION AGAINST LOUIS XIV.

THE two powers around which the Holy Roman Empire revolved during the Middle Ages, the imperial office and the papacy, had, through the Peace of Westphalia, been relegated to the background. The papacy ceased any longer to exercise any decisive influence on the development of European politics, which henceforth was based on the conventions of Münster and Osnabrück.

Still greater were the sacrifices that were forced on the empire. The last relics of sovereign authority, the last fiction of a united or even of a federal Germany, passed away in 1648. The empire was now a loose confederation of princes and cities, over which the emperor had no other privilege than that of presidency. There were, in all, something like 1800 territorial sovereigns, of whom 1475 were knights of the empire, while 314 constituted the estates and had a voice in the imperial diet. Since 1663, this last body had been permanent in Ratisbon. From that date, the princes no longer took part in its sittings—it being composed exclusively of the ambassadors of the estates—and no matters of any consequence were discussed. If by chance a decision of national importance was adopted, it was either carried out with indifference or was neglected. Yet the emperor, in each of his legislative, financial, or political measures, was dependent upon the co-operation of this body. Without grants from it, his income was exceedingly small.

Only with difficulty had Emperor Ferdinand III. secured the election of his eldest son and namesake as King of the Romans. But the young man died in 1654; and, on the emperor's own death, in April, 1657, Mazarin and the Swedes urged the substitution of the house of Wittelsbach for that of Hapsburg on the imperial throne. The spiritual electors they had already won over; but the Protestants, who dreaded the Bavarian elector, frustrated the scheme. Finally, after an interregnum of fifteen months, Ferdinand's second son, Leopold I., was called to the throne. But the imperial dignity was now little more than an empty honor, because France and its ally, Sweden, were now, by means of the Confederation of the Rhine, the masters in Germany.

No wonder that Leopold cherished little interest in the impracticable imperial machine. More earnestly than ever, the Hapsburgs strove for the extension of their own family domains. Up to the time of the Thirty Years' War, their territorial power had been limited. The Tyrol, Hither Austria (i. e., some bits of territory between the Lech and the Rhine) and Alsace, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola had belonged to collateral branches of the house. By far the greatest part of Hungary was in possession of the Turks. In the archduchy proper and Bohemia, the estates had left scarcely the shadow of power to the lord of the land, so that the emperor was hardly in a position to enter into a conflict with great powers like Spain, France, or even England. But, during the war, the imperial line had been able materially to strengthen its territorial power. The estates of Bohemia and of the archduchy had been stripped of all influence and independence, so that there the authority of the sovereign was practically absolute. By the accession of the Styrian archduke to the imperial throne, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were united with the crown-lands. Alsace was lost to France, but Hither Austria came, through death, into the possession of the imperial branch. Finally, in 1665, the Tyrol—the last of the old Austrian lands—was joined to the other provinces. Against any new dismemberment Ferdinand II. had guarded by establishing the indivisibility of the Austrian hereditary lands.

Still, however, there was but little unity. The various provinces constituted three distinct groups: German Austria, Bohemia with Moravia and Silesia, and Hungary with its adjoining lands. Each of these had its own judiciary and its own systems of police, defence, customs, and laws. The provincial estates, consisting mainly of the higher and lower nobility, impeded the fusion of these lands into a united whole. The church possessed unbounded influence and was everywhere the greatest landed proprietor. The officials were much too numerous for the duties required of them, and were as ignorant as they were negligent and unscrupulous. The taxes were most unfairly imposed and collected, and were expended without system. Every one of the states, in placing a loan, accepted goods instead of money, and lost heavily in converting these wares into cash. Besides all this, the peculations of the highest officials were simply scandalous. Industry was in its infancy, and the rich products of the soil remained almost without value from the absence of the commercial spirit and the most essential facilities for traffic. The burgher class, and especially the maltreated peasantry, were deeply degraded.

But the development of Austria's power was mainly impeded by her

powerful neighbors, the Turks. They kept Austria in a constant state of anxiety and alarm, and her strength was exhausted under the unbroken strain.

Under such circumstances, the Hapsburgs, single-handed, were in no position to undertake the defence of Germany against France and Sweden. But the indestructible strength of the German nature now made itself manifest. The unwieldy and impractical congress of ambassadors at Ratisbon, which bore the name of diet, might waste its time in endless debates on formalities and similar nullities; but there were territories that possessed well-equipped and effective armies, well-ordered finances, brave and patriotic peoples, and gifted, energetic princes. Such were, above all others, the lands of Brandenburg-Prussia and of the Guelfs. These and a few others exercised a decisive influence on the destiny of Germany and preserved its national life from destruction by foreigners.

No territory had suffered more during the horrors of the dreary war than the margraviate of Brandenburg. Prussia served as the battlefield for Swedes and Poles, and the Rhenish provinces were occupied by the Dutch as security for an alleged debt. Pomerania, which should have fallen to Brandenburg on the extinction of its ducal line, was seized by the Swedes. Count Schwarzenberg—a Brandenburg minister with Austrian sympathies—caused the very soldiers of the elector to bind themselves by oath to the emperor, whereupon they plundered the lands of the electorate.

Fortunately George William died in 1640, and his son, Frederick William, though but a youth of twenty, was of a different mould from his father. He dismissed the all-powerful Schwarzenberg, suppressed the mutiny of the turbulent soldiers, made peace with Sweden, and took up a position independent of all the belligerent parties. To impress these with respect for himself, he created a military force of his own, the nucleus of the present Prussian army. Thus he gradually recovered the lands of the electorate, as well as Prussia and Cleves.

This was of all the greater consequence, because Brandenburg, in the Westphalian peace-negotiations, had to resist the threatened loss of Pomerania. We know that the elector was only half successful in this, but he understood how to secure for himself a rich indemnity in Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden, for the sacrifice of Hither Pomerania and Rügen. The main object now was to unite all these different provinces scattered over North Germany under a strong, centralized government. This could be effected only by breaking down the power of the provincial estates, and to this work Frederick William devoted himself

with persistence and resolution. Filled with the conviction of the supreme need of a feeling of common nationality, and believing that the end justified the means, he visited the resisting nobles and municipal magistrates with deprivation of privileges, imprisonment, and sometimes even with the punishment of death. By such means, he attained his object of bringing together these dispersed and isolated provinces into one united whole, and thus he became the creator of the Brandenburg-Prussian state. Only in this way was he enabled to set in order the finances and administration and to organize an army of 20,000 men. He had equal success in his foreign policy. In 1647 he concluded an arrangement with the Count Palatine of Neuburg, which put an end to the endless contest over the Jülich-Cleves inheritance, and by which he obtained the half of the lands in question—namely, the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark and Ravenstein. Thus, from a state of deplorable disorder and disintegration, Brandenburg had, within thirty years, risen to be the most powerful of the German principalities.

The lands of the house of Guelf, notwithstanding the eminent abilities of their rulers, were in a much less fortunate condition. According to the family compact of 1569, these were divided between the older line of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and the younger one of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Hanover), the latter gaining the larger and more populous part. Unfortunately this was again subdivided into the two lands of Celle and Hanover. Yet Christian Louis of Celle (1648–1665), through careful administration, had not only healed the wounds left by the war, but had raised his territory to power and prosperity. Of equal ability was his successor, George William (1665–1705), who, with a small but well-organized army, repeatedly intervened in the political and military affairs of the time. In Hanover, John Frederick (1649–1679) had likewise broken the strength of the estates and organized an absolute government and a strong military force—only, however, to enter the pay of France and to ape the splendor of the court of Versailles. But it was altogether different under the rule of his distinguished brother and successor, Ernest Augustus (1679–1698), a prince who united a most anxious care for the welfare of his subjects with a wise frugality. Under him, Hanover became a strong and martial member of the German empire, while his court, by its cheerful, brilliant, and animated intellectual life, attracted the eyes of all Germany to itself.

In contrast with these new states, others, which for centuries had occupied the foremost place, now retired to the background. These were the electorate of Saxony and the lands of the house of Wittelsbach. The former, already weakened by the transfer of the administrative dis-

tricts of Weissenfels, Merseburg, and Zeitz to younger branches of the house of Wettin, was ruled by John George II. (1656-1680), a weak, vainglorious prince, who sacrificed its military strength to the glitter of Italian and French art. A much abler man was his successor, John George III., who, endowed with military capacity, was the first to organize a standing army in his territories. In Bavaria, Maximilian's son, Ferdinand Maria (1651-1679), thought only of repairing the damages of the Thirty Years' War, of glorifying Munich by elegant edifices, and of modeling his court after that of Versailles. The Palatine line of the house of Wittelsbach, deprived of the Upper Palatinate, and ruling over a desolated, exhausted domain, was never able to recover its earlier importance. On the other hand, Hesse-Cassel, under rapidly changing rulers, maintained the prestige of its large and brave army. Thus many German territories still maintained the ancient military glory of the nation, and this told in favor of the Hapsburgs in their struggles against the Turks.

Emperor Leopold I. (born in 1640) was brought up for the church; but the death of his elder brother, Ferdinand, in 1654, called him to the career of politics. His person and mien were alike ungainly, and his eye dull and heavy. In energy and decision he was utterly lacking, and he let the reins of government slip from his hands. He left the affairs of state to ministers at variance with one another, and put no check on the frands of his servants, which exhausted the resources of Austria more than war. But with all his want of decision, he had a certain passive power of resistance, combined with an invincible obstinacy, which, through the favor of circumstances, had on many occasions served him in good stead. Like all genuine Hapsburgs, he was immovable in his adhesion to the old traditions of church and state. For Protestantism he had no toleration. His piety was carried so far that he submitted not only political measures but even the plans of his military campaigns to the approval of his father-confessor, who was generally a Jesuit. Nevertheless Leopold made several attempts at reform in the direction of a greater unification of the state, and effected some well-meant improvements in the administration of justice.

In Hungary, he was in possession only of the counties in the Carpathians, the western counties between the river March and the Bakony forest, and the greater part of Croatia. The rest was in the immediate power of the Turks. Transylvania and the northeastern portion of Hungary proper were under the sway of the house of Rákóczy, which acknowledged the suzerainty of both the emperor and the sultan. But, even in the small portions of the kingdom belonging to the Hapsburgs, their authority was extremely limited. They ruled there not as hered-

itary kings, but only through the choice of the magnates. Laws could be passed and taxes imposed only with the consent of the estates, which must be convened every third year. They consisted of two tables or boards: the Table of Magnates, a sort of upper house, and the Table of Estates, composed of delegates sent by the lower nobility and royal free cities. Every nobleman had the right of insurrection—that is, of taking up arms in case of violation of the law on the part of the crown. When the king was not in the land, he had to name a palatine as his representative, who exercised all the powers of the sovereign. The local administration of the several counties was also fully in the hands of the nobles. To such grounds for disorder were added frequent conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, who were in numbers about equally balanced. Every nobleman possessed the *jus reformandi*, but the exercise of this right could not fail to give rise to the bitterest dissensions, which broke up many diets. The constant efforts of the Hapsburgs to abrogate the constitution engendered endless discontent and trouble. The proximity of the Turks and Transylvanians aggravated the general anarchy.

This became intolerable when the Porte deposed George II., Rákóczy, on account of a conflict which he had entered into with Poland of his own accord. War broke out in consequence, and ended only with the defeat and death of Rákóczy in 1660. The estates of Transylvania now chose John Kemény as grand prince, who, in order to escape from paying tribute to the Turks, applied for help to Emperor Leopold (PLATE XIV.). The latter declared to the Porte that he would regard any attack on the principality as a declaration of war. The Osmanlis gave no heed to his warning, but attacked and killed Kemény. Therefore war broke out between them and the emperor in 1663.

Leopold's situation was by no means an easy one. The Hungarian Protestants complained of the disfavor shown toward their religion, and the whole country complained of the emperor's numerous violations of the constitution. For these reasons the estates refused all supplies. Turkey, on the other hand, had the fortune to be under the guidance of a distinguished family of grand viziers. Mohammed Köprili, an Albanian, had established order in the distracted realm, and had begun a successful war against Venice. He was succeeded by his son, Achmet, who concluded the war by a peace which gave Turkey nearly the whole of Crete, and who thereupon broke into Hungary with 120,000 men. German troops in large numbers, and even a French corps, rallied to the emperor's standard under Raimondo Montecuccoli, who, in August, 1664, decisively defeated the foe, four times his numbers, at St. Gotthard on the Raab. But the emperor felt himself in no condition to follow up his

PLATE XIV.



Emperor Leopold I.

From the drawing by Peter Schenck (1645-1715).

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advantage, and in a few days concluded the Peace of Vasvar, which left to the Turks Neuhausel and Grosswardein, and recognized the Grand Prince Abafi, whom the Porte had set on the throne of Transylvania in defiance of the emperor.

This inglorious compact was the source of much bitterness of feeling in imperial Hungary, while the Protestants had to complain of oppression, and the Catholics of the long sojourn in Hungary of the German troops, who, as they thought, were to be employed in destroying the liberties of the kingdom. Under these menacing conditions, several of the most eminent among the magnates—the Palatine Veseleny, Chief-Justice Nadasdy, the Ban of Croatia, Peter Zriny, and the young Prince Rákóczy—met to concert measures for liberating their fatherland from the despotic sway of the Hapsburgs. Their plans were prematurely betrayed, and Rákóczy, who had opened hostilities too hastily and suffered defeat, was able to save his life only by professing the deepest repentance and paying an immense fine. Nadasdy and Zriny were captured and sent, with several accomplices, to Vienna, where they were executed (1671).

The emperor had now acquired an authority in Hungary such as he had never had before. He could now have interfered effectively in western politics, in the interests of his house and of European freedom. Just at this time, he received an earnest warning to do so. Without any valid ground, Louis XIV. had seized Lorraine, its duke, Charles IV., escaping prison only by immediate flight. But, instead of avenging this seizure of a state of the empire, the emperor, at the advice of Lobkowitz, preferred to attempt the suppression of Protestantism and liberty in Hungary. On November 1, 1671, he signed a compact with France, by which he bound himself to interfere in no war carried on outside of Germany and Spain, and to afford no aid to any power attacked by France. France had not spared either gold or fair promises to gain allies against the Dutch. To the Catholics, she represented the war against the Dutch heretics as a war for religion.

Still more easily was Charles II. of England secured; the proffer came from himself. The inglorious Peace of Breda had roused such indignation in England, especially in the Lower House, that the Earl of Clarendon, the king's first minister, was dismissed from office. He was afterward impeached by the House of Commons, and fled to France. Some of the ministers to whom Charles now looked for aid were the most corrupt politicians of that deeply immoral epoch in England's history. Five of them were termed derisively the Cabal, from the initial letters of their names. These men put no obstacles in Charles's way when he

offered up his own and his country's independence to France. In doing this, he was actuated by three motives: he hoped to break the power of Parliament, to obtain means for indulging in his unbridled profligacy, and to secure the predominance of Catholicism in the recalcitrant land of England.

After lengthy negotiations, Charles's sister, the Duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law and confidante of Louis XIV., visited England in June, 1670. Nothing could be more natural than that Charles should meet her at Dover. The duchess brought with her a draft of a treaty, which was there subscribed to secretly, and England was, against her will, fettered to France. In return for certain subsidies, Charles pledged himself not only to support Louis's claim to the Spanish monarchy, but to place 6000 men and fifty ships of the line at his disposal, to be used against the Dutch. Thus Charles paved the way for the political and military ascendancy of France and the downfall of England as a naval power. To crown the work of treachery, the duchess brought with her a clever Breton beauty—Louise de Kéroualle—who became Charles's chief mistress and was made Duchess of Portsmouth. As a stipendiary of France, her duty was to keep her lover subservient to Louis and his policy.

The negotiation of alliances for the Dutch war was the masterpiece of Lyonne's diplomacy. He died in the autumn of 1671. His successor was Simon Arnaud, Marquis de Pomponne, a man of culture and an accomplished diplomatist, who had, however, in Louis's eyes, the unpardonable weakness of being too just and too little given to violence and brutality. He was successful in detaching Sweden, like England, from the Triple Alliance. In April, 1672, Sweden, in return for French subsidies, undertook to attack such princes of the empire as might defend the United Provinces, and to station 16,000 men in Hither Pomerania for this purpose. The war at once broke out.

In vain had the Dutch aristocrats prostrated themselves before the French despot: in vain had they, from fear of France, rejected the aid of the Elector of Brandenburg, who alone offered to ally himself with them. Louis caused Charles II. to take action, and the latter purposely subjected the United Provinces to more and more wanton humiliations, in order to exhaust their patience and provoke them to conflict. As they submitted to everything, the English fleet, in March, 1672, as a still more emphatic provocation, attacked the rich Levant squadron of Holland. A few days later, Charles declared war against the Netherlands; and Louis, with no better grounds, followed on April 1. His troops had been long standing in readiness on the Dutch frontier. The most



FIG. 43.—Siege of Nimwegen, July, 1672. Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by Sébastien Leclerc (1637-1714).

energetic adherents of France in the empire were the three Fürstenberg brothers, of whom one was all-powerful in Bavaria, the second was Bishop of Strasburg, and the third was a canon and influential minister in the electorate of Cologne. At the suggestion of the third brother, the elector opened Cologne to the French, as well as his subject territory of Liège. Thus 90,000 Frenchmen on the Rhine and Meuse, and 30,000 German allies, were able to press forward into the United Provinces, under the command of such generals as Condé, Turenne, and Marshal de Luxembourg. The ruin of the provinces seemed inevitable. The conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, the subjugation of the left bank of the Rhine, the enslavement of all Europe—such would have been the consequences of the final defeat of the republic.

To Frederick William of Brandenburg—the “Great Elector”—is due the merit not only of having recognized the peril but also of having been inspired with courage to meet it. He alone formally pressed his co-operation on the Dutch, and courted alliances everywhere. He did, in point of fact, win over the court of Vienna. The passage of Louis’s troops through imperial territory gave Leopold the pretext for declaring the previous compact with France void, and for entering into an alliance with Brandenburg in June, 1672, for the armed maintenance of existing treaties and the integrity of the empire.

It was high time, for the French soldiers had poured into the United Netherlands. The demoralized Dutch troops offered scarcely any resistance. At the same moment, the warlike Bishop of Münster, Bernhard von Galen, invaded Northeastern Holland. Traitorous city magistrates and aristocratic commandants surrendered their ruined fortresses without a stroke of the sword. By the beginning of July, only Zealand and the greater part of the province of Holland remained free (Fig. 43).

De Witt and his friends saw safety only in the abject proffers of a peace most costly to Holland. Happily for the Netherlands and Europe, Louis rejected any terms except complete subjection. Then came the reaction. The people compelled the ruling party to lay the whole country under water by piercing the dykes, and to nominate William III. of Orange (Fig. 44), then only twenty-one years of age, as stadtholder and commander-in-chief, with almost absolute authority. These decisive measures had the happiest effect. Unfortunately the fury of the people called for a victim. The de Witts were unjustly accused of having a traitorous collusion with the enemy, and on August 20, 1672, John de Witt and his most meritorious brother, Cornelius, commissary of the fleet, were killed by the populace in The Hague. More glorious than this deed of intamy was the defence made by William with his

newly levied troops, and by de Ruyter with the fleet, against England and France.

Nevertheless the Dutch must certainly have succumbed before the vastly superior strength of their foes, had not help come to them from two quarters: first, from the Marquis of Monterey, the brave and energetic governor of the Spanish Netherlands; and next, from the Elector Frederick William, with his 26,000 Brandenburgers, and 16,000 imperialists under Montecucoli. Louis XIV. held it safer to return to Versailles, and there let himself be hailed as a new Alexander and Caesar, while



FIG. 44.—William III. of Orange. After a copper-plate engraving by Jacob Houbraken (1698-1780); original painting by de Baan (1633-1702).

Marshal de Luxembourg was to hold the conquests in Holland, and Turenne to bid defiance to the Germans and Spaniards.

Both projects were realized, and that through the treachery of Lobkowitz, who impeded Montecucoli and the Great Elector in all that they attempted. Louis was thus able to punish the United Provinces frightfully for their resistance. In vain did Colbert and Pomponne sue for forbearance toward the unfortunate country; Louis preferred Louvois's policy of revenge, and ordered his men "to consume these lands."

In the beginning of the campaign of 1673, the French made some progress. Under Louis's own eyes, Vauban (Fig. 45) captured Maestricht, the last fortress of the Dutch on the Meuse. To overawe the

Germans, Turenne occupied the peaceful electorate of Treves, and the French made a further onset on the imperial free cities in Alsace. All this had only the effect of rousing and embittering all Germany against the unrighteous oppressor. Everyone was forced to see that on the deluged plains of Holland the freedom or bondage of Europe was to be decided. On August 30, 1673, the emperor signed an alliance with Spain, Holland, and the Duke of Lorraine for the re-establishment of the Peace of Westphalia and that of Aix-la-Chapelle.



FIG. 45.—Vauban, Marshal of France. After a copper-plate engraving by Bertoullier; original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).

A complete revolution followed on this manly though late decision of the court of Vienna. Louis XIV., assailed by Germany and threatened by Spain, had, with a heavy heart, to relinquish his conquests and evacuate Holland. After the occupation of the electorate of Cologne by the allies in 1674, Denmark also joined the great alliance. This accession was all the more grateful because the people of that country, disgusted with the selfish and cowardly policy of the aristocracy, had enabled Frederick III. to restore the crown to full authority. The diet at Copenhagen, in 1660, declared the monarchy to be no longer elective, but hereditary, investing the king and his heirs with absolute power.

Of far greater consequence was the course of events in England. Simultaneously with his declaration of war against Holland, Charles II. had taken the first step toward Catholicising the English government. In his so-called "Declaration of Indulgence," he had, on the ground of the royal right of dispensation, suspended the enforcement of all the restrictions imposed by law on the Catholics and the Dissenters (1672). The inglorious conduct of the war against the Dutch and the partial bankruptcy of the state through the mismanagement of the finances aggravated the discontent of all classes. The Parliament, in 1673, compelled the king to recall his "Declaration" and to grant his assent to a "Test Act," requiring all persons, before being invested with any office, civil or military, to declare on oath their disbelief in the doctrine of transubstantiation and to receive the sacrament according to the Anglican rites. Finally, in February, 1674, Charles had to consent to the conclusion of a peace at Westminster with the States-General of the Netherlands.

Louis was now practically placed under the ban of Europe. In Germany, his acts of violence had provoked an outburst of national indignation such as had not been witnessed for centuries. Princes and people cried aloud for revenge on the insolent and rapacious foreigners who had cruelly devastated the Palatinate. In the spring of 1674, all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine deserted France for Austria, and war was declared by the empire against the invader. But the European coalition effected less than was expected against France, strong in its unity and in the possession of the first ministers and commanders of the age. In six weeks, Vauban overran Franche-Comté; on the Rhine, Monteneucoli had given over his command to Bournonville, a far inferior general, who, in June, 1674, was defeated by Turenne with a much inferior force, at Sinsheim. Similarly, Turenne's rival, Louis of Condé, inflicted a serious discomfiture on the Prince of Orange at Seneffe in the Netherlands. Finally, when the Elector Frederick William joined Bournonville with 20,000 men, and compelled him to invade Alsace, treason showed itself among the imperialists. Several of the emperor's ministers were in formal communication with Versailles. Turenne had in the meantime succeeded in driving the allies, with great loss, out of Alsace. German sympathies now died out in the hearts of the Alsatians. Even in the empire, people were heartily tired of the war; for their own troops, instead of combating the foe, thought only of preying on and pillaging their native land.

While Alsace was thus once more lost to Germany, a revolt against Spanish misrule broke out in Sicily, and the citizens of Messina called on Louis for help, who promptly dispatched a fleet with ample military stores.

Louis's arms had frustrated all the designs of the coalition, yet still more decided were the advantages he gained through his diplomacy. With the aid of gold, he knew how to raise up dangerous enemies to the allies in their rear.

The discovery of the Hungarian conspiracy in 1671 was made use of at Vienna to attempt the carrying out of the long-cherished plan for the subversion of the Hungarian constitution and the establishment of despotism in that kingdom. To carry its point, the imperial government shrank from no measure of cruelty and violence. A court, dealing out martial law, inflicted summary punishment on many of the conspirators. Hungary had to maintain 30,000 German troops. The authority of the crown was declared absolute, the dignity of palatine abolished, and a German, Caspar Ambringer, nominated as imperial governor. A system of religious repression was likewise initiated. The Protestant preachers were everywhere driven out, their churches wrested from their congregations, and Jesuits introduced in their places.

But, when Leopold and his ministers resolved on breaking down the Magyars' power of resistance, they had not taken into account the energy of this vigorous race. Numerous malecontents escaped to Transylvania, and from there, with the help of Abafi, began war against the imperial troops. At their head was Emmerich Tököly, a noble of twenty years of age, full of spirit and decision and thoroughly educated in politics. Here Louis XIV. now took a hand. He sent money and officers to Tököly, to enable him to organize his forces, and, at the same time, procured him support from Poland.

In this latter country, French influence and gold had secured the crown (May, 1674) for the grand field-marshal, John Sobieski, a war-like nobleman, who was bound to France through a French wife and a French pension. Sobieski accordingly sent large bodies of Polish horsemen to the aid of the Hungarian insurgents.

As Louis had instigated the Sicilians against Spain, and the Hungarians against the emperor, so now he incited the Swedes against the Elector of Brandenburg. In the last weeks of the year 1674, Field-marshal Wrangel advanced, with 15,000 Swedes, into the electorate, harrying it cruelly by pillage and requisitions. Deserted by all his allies, the Great Elector had to give up the Rhine and hasten to the rescue of his own land. He succeeded in surprising the Swedes, who now numbered 20,000 men, in their widely dispersed quarters. He broke through their position at Rathenow, separated them into two army-corps, and threw himself against the greater at Fehrbellin, June 28, 1675. Although only half as strong as his foes, he completely defeated them, and



FIG. 46.—Admiral de Ruyter. A reduced facsimile of a copper-engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe (1638-1708).

then nearly annihilated them in the course of his eager pursuit to the coast.

But what did this defeat matter to Louis XIV.? Through these various diversions, he was secured against the fate of being overwhelmed by the coalition. In 1675, indeed, the French made new progress in

the Spanish Netherlands. On the other hand, the hoary Montecuccoli successfully defended the Upper Rhine, and when his great adversary, Turenne, fell on July 27, 1675, at Salsbach, the imperialists were able once more to press forward into Alsace. At the same time, the Duke of Lorraine defeated Marshal Créquî at the bridge of Konz over the Saar, and reconquered Treves.

Thus the year 1675 closed, on the whole, with the discomfiture of France. The great Franco-Swedish combined attack on Germany had been repelled, and the imperialists and Brandenburg had at all points assumed the offensive. But a change was soon brought about; for Sweden, Hungary, and Poland gave occupation to the best strength of Germany. Louis, on the other hand, named eight new marshals, and imposed fresh taxes in order to raise new regiments and to organize a new and formidable artillery for the capture of Belgian fortresses. The French fleet, under Duquesne, proved itself superior to the Dutch in Sicilian waters. Twice was de Ruyter (Fig. 46) defeated, and in April, 1676, received a mortal wound. Louis himself, accompanied by Vauban, took a whole series of Belgian towns. The Dutch were much provoked at the inglorious way in which William of Orange conducted the war in the Netherlands. Their desire for peace, for the revival of trade, and for the removal of the war-burdens quite outweighed the higher interest of the state and fidelity to their allies. In the autumn of 1676, a peace congress was opened at Nimwegen.

The claims of the coalition were at first somewhat exorbitant; and, to moderate these, Louis and Louvois, contrary to the usage of the times, placed a strong army in the field while it was still winter, and invested Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St.-Omer. William, when on the march to relieve the last place, was met and completely defeated by Marshal de Luxembourg, at Cassel in Flanders, April 11, 1677. In the following autumn, the French occupied the Breisgau on the Upper Rhine, with its capital, Freiburg (Fig. 47).

After such discomfitures, the Dutch would certainly have concluded peace, had not two circumstances operated to prevent them: the stubbornness of William of Orange, and their own commercial cupidity.

William Henry of Orange had, as an orphan, spent a melancholy youth under the stern regime of his aristocratic adversaries. Of delicate health, his sad experiences had impressed his character with a double degree of earnestness, and made him morose. He never lost sight of his own interests, but he subordinated these to a greater and more general aim—the annihilation of French tyranny over Europe. Personally unattractive, usually unsuccessful on the battlefield, sickly, moody, and cold,

but clearly conscious of his object, William III. of Orange was, if not an engaging, at least an admirable, and, in his own way, a grand character. It stood him in good stead that Louis would not grant the Dutch the commercial advantages that they claimed, and thereby considerably lessened their anxiety for peace.

A new confederate of the first importance now dawned on the horizon of the allies. Charles II. seemed inclined to listen to the wishes of his people, and the representations of his nephew, William of Orange, and

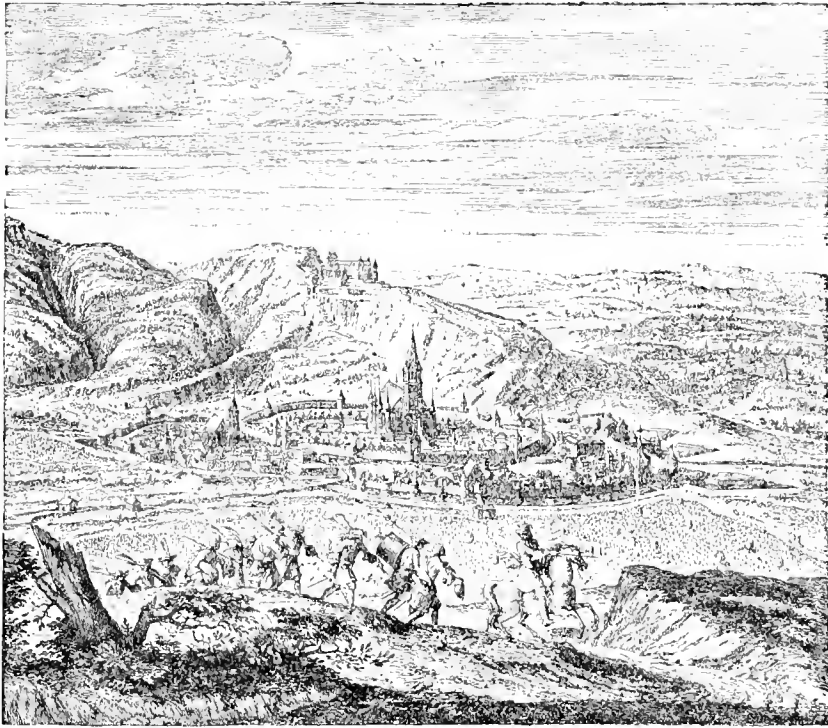


FIG. 17.—A troop of French soldiers before Freiburg in Breisgau. A reduced facsimile of a copper-engraving by Sébastien Leclerc (1637-1714).

to wait only for an opportunity to go over to them. He himself had no legitimate issue, and the heir to the throne was his brother James, Duke of York. The latter had two daughters, who, after their father's conversion to Catholicism, remained zealous Protestants. The elder of these, Mary, would, on James's death, become Queen of England. For this reason, her marriage was a matter of European importance. Louis XIV. would gladly have married her to his son, the dauphin; but

against this public sentiment in England would have risen in revolt. Charles could not afford to set this too openly at defiance, and so he brought William of Orange to London, and united him in marriage with Mary, in November, 1677. A growing confidence sprang up between the two princes, and they united on conditions of peace and submitted them to France. On Louis haughtily spurning these, the indignation of England blazed up so fiercely that Charles was constrained to summon Parliament and ask it for means to strengthen the army. The coalition was jubilant. If England went over to their side, victory seemed assured to them.

And yet France's position was never better. Sobieski had willingly concluded a self-sacrificing peace with Turkey, in order to be free to follow his French paymaster's behest and bring effective aid to the Hungarian insurgents. The latter thereupon drove the imperialists forth from all Upper Hungary and threatened Vienna itself. Almost the entire imperial force had to be withdrawn from the Rhine to the east. It was of little avail to the coalition that the Swedes were completely defeated off Öland by the united Dutch-Danish fleet under the younger Tromp and Juël, and deprived of all Hither Pomerania by the Elector Frederick William. Trusting in the support of France, they continued the struggle. Within the empire itself, Louis induced the Elector of Bavaria to declare his neutrality.

The arms of France were no less victorious than her diplomacy. In March, 1678, her troops took Ghent and Ypres, and threatened Brussels. Louis had 300,000 men in the field, and was able to bid defiance to half of Europe.

But the main thing was that Charles of England, notwithstanding all his bluster and threatening, had no intention of making himself, by a foreign war, dependent on his Parliament and on a Protestant army. He turned rather to Louis XIV., with the proposition that, if the latter would assure him an annual subsidy of 6,000,000 livres for three years, he would compel the allies to accept more favorable terms of peace, and discontinue any further summoning of Parliament. Louis resolved to keep the English king in suspense without paying him a son, but, on the least sign of hostility, to publish his letter and thereby excite such a turmoil in England that it could take no part in foreign politics.

At the same time, the Dutch aristocratic party opened communications with Louis. Public sentiment had turned in their favor; for it was feared that, by his English marriage, William might become strong enough to assert his absolute sway in the Netherlands. The ultimatum laid down by Louis at Nimwegen in the spring of 1678 was very advan-

tageous to them, while it imposed the hardest conditions on the other powers. Maestricht was to be restored to the United Provinces, and the extremely favorable commercial treaty of 1662 renewed. Charles II. secretly informed the States-General that he had long ago come to an understanding with the King of France. This turned the scale, and, on August 10, 1678, the Dutch plenipotentiaries signed a peace with France at Nimwegen on the basis of the ultimatum. The English plenipotentiary, Sir William Temple, who knew nothing of the secret dealings of his sovereign, refused his joint signature. Charles II. was now free to cry aloud against the faithlessness and vacillation of the Dutch.

In point of fact, the most vigorous reproaches were hurled at them from all sides. In their cause, Europe had taken up arms and saved them, and now they left their self-sacrificing allies to their fate. Of the two states that had first entered the field for them, Brandenburg had to restore all her glorious conquests from Sweden, and Spain had to cede to France the whole of Franche-Comté and her last South Belgian fortresses, including Ypres, Valenciennes, and Cambrai. Lorraine also remained in the possession of France.

The peace had fallen most heavily on Spain. She was utterly incapable of continuing the conflict alone. The discontent with the rule of the queen-mother was universal. Finally the young king, Charles II., was placed at the head of a palace-revolt which compelled the regent to withdraw into a monastery. Don John of Austria, the king's natural brother, undertook the government, and made peace with France in September, 1678.

There remained now in arms against France only the emperor, the German princes of the empire, and Denmark. The emperor, however, had little inclination to carry on war with Hungary and France at the same time. The promise of the Elector of Brandenburg, who had meanwhile taken Rügen from the Swedes, that the emperor's northern allies would stand by him, seemed, indeed, to warrant the most sanguine hopes; nevertheless it was by no means displeasing to Leopold that, at the decisive moment, the elector was hard pressed in his own land, and that a pretext was thus given for leaving him to his fate.

John Sobieski had encouraged the Swedes to make an inroad into Prussia from Livonia, and to this end had permitted them to enlist recruits in Poland. In the middle of November, 1678, the Swedish Field-marshal Horn was enabled unexpectedly to cross the border into the entirely defenceless duchy. The elector straightway set to work to put an end to this state of affairs. With 10,000 men, he advanced into Prussia (January, 1679). As soon as the Swedes learned that he was approaching, they

began their retreat, but were so vigorously pursued that this was soon converted into a flight. The Brandenburg infantry on sledges followed the cavalry, who had hurried forward, and along with them crossed the frozen surface of the Frisches and the Kurisches Haff. At length the Swedes were overtaken and a vast number of them cut down or made prisoners.

While the elector in this glorious campaign again vindicated his superiority over the Swedes, the general political situation grew worse and worse for him. Leopold I. also had concluded a peace with France at Nimwegen, in February, 1679. It left Freiburg in Breisgau to the Most Christian King, restored to Sweden all her earlier possessions, and granted the French a free passage through the empire to enable them to compel the northern allies to submission. Thereupon the French advanced into the Rhenish territory of the Elector of Brandenburg—the duchy of Cleves. In vain did Frederick William strive for the retention of Stettin, at least; Louis insisted, with great firmness, on the reinstatement of his Swedish ally, and at length sent Marshal Créqui with an overpowering force as far as the Weser. No hand was raised in aid of Brandenburg. The elector was forced to surrender all that he had acquired in the four years' struggle. The Peace of St.-Germain-en-Laye (June 29, 1679) restored to Sweden all Hither Pomerania, with the exception of a narrow strip on the right bank of the Oder. In his wrath and sorrow, Frederick William is said to have exclaimed: *Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!* It was not his enemy, France, but the faithlessness of his allies, that brought upon him this humiliation.

The King of Denmark fared no better in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, in September, 1679.

Thus had Louis XIV. forced Europe to submit to his terms. He had shown himself superior to this whole quarter of the globe, banded against him. Without doubt, the triumph was purchased with the ruin of the working-classes of his country. Louis had not attained the end which he had set before himself at the beginning of the great struggle—the humiliation of Holland for all time. But he had gained what was almost more important: a large portion of Belgium, as well as Franche-Comté, and the consciousness of his superiority over all the other states united. A contemporary caricature showed a hand stretched forth from a cloud, on each finger of which a marionette in the garb of a prince was made to dance, indicating with sarcastic effect the position that Louis had won. His aim, to impose his universal sovereignty—his “monarchy,” as men then termed it—upon the recalcitrant world, had been attained. Since the days of Charlemagne, the world had not seen his like.

CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS XIV., HIS KINGDOM AND HIS PEOPLE.

AFTER the Peace of Nimwegen, Louis XIV. of France was the central figure of all Europe. He was now in his forty-first year, and his personal appearance was not unworthy of his pre-eminent station. His bodily constitution was such, and was so cared for by him, that he knew nothing of weariness or sickness. Always earnest in his manner, he was yet gracious and fascinating, so that favors conferred by him acquired a double value. Anything approaching excitement or passion he held unworthy of himself, and regarded self-command and imperturbable equanimity as the highest kingly virtues. He believed that the monarch should sit enthroned above all earthly things, serene as the Divinity. If his example sanctioned immorality, none the less he was careful that his court should be a model of outward decorum and honor. He would not pass even a lady-in-waiting without raising his hat; and when he spoke with the court ladies, it was always with uncovered head.

Constant in his dislikes as in his likings, he willingly overlooked trivial faults in his servants; in regard to greater, especially such as touched his authority or dignity, he was inexorable. Every movement and every word were studied, and yet marked by innate grace. His whole life, indeed, was a theatrical performance; but so consummate was the art with which he played his part, that it escaped detection by any save the most sharp-sighted. Monarchy in his person was surrounded by an etiquette not unsuggestive of the cult offered to a divinity. Louis XIV. would no longer, like his grandfather, be "the first nobleman of his kingdom," but a personage immeasurably elevated above the highest nobility. The great nobles lived in an indolent, gilded serfdom, while all real business was transacted by plebeians. It was the highest privilege of distinguished lords to be present at the king's morning toilet, and to hand him his shirt, hand-basin, or dressing-gown. At mass, which Louis, along with the whole court, attended every morning, it was the custom for the courtiers to turn the back toward the altar, so that they might face the king. At table, he ate alone, his wife at most presuming to sit beside him; his brother handed him, from time to time, the napkin. When he went to bed, the magnates and favorites were

again in waiting, each to discharge his function. Thus, from his awaking to his going to sleep, he was the object of the ceaseless adulation and commanded the services of the most illustrious personages of France. At the bottom of all this lay deep political calculation. Could any feeling of independence or of self-respect exist among men who strove for the honor of handing the king a dish or of buttoning his coat?

Yet, godlike as he regarded himself, Louis (PLATE XV.) had a childish dread of death, and surrounded himself with the most minute measures of precaution. He even exchanged the palace of St.-Germain for that of Versailles, because at the former he had the towers of the cathedral of St.-Denis, the burial-place of the French kings, constantly before his eyes. But he did not take life easy. He labored unceasingly and with pleasure at his calling, not omitting the driest details, and reading with attention every dispatch of his numerous diplomats. In all this, he was firmly convinced that, as king, he received divine illumination, and in this conviction he was confirmed by his confessor and bishops. His ministers had so to arrange matters that every decision they reached should seem to originate with him, and they were wont to make trifling errors, so that he might have the pleasure of correcting them, and of ascribing any measure of success to himself. Yet, though Louis had not genius sufficient to save him from succumbing to the guidance of those about him, he had a judgment sound enough to discern whether he was well or ill served. No one dared to speak of the state, but only of "the king's service," "the king's interests," "the honor of the king."

His wife, Maria Theresa, a mild, pious woman, more given to heavenly than earthly things, was always treated by Louis with respectful deference. She, in return, interfered neither in public business nor with the numerous love-affairs of her husband. In the first years of his reign, his favorite mistress was Louise de La Vallière (Fig. 48), a gentle, slender blonde, devoted to the king with passionate fondness, but constantly suffering from remorse for her fall. She was little able to keep her hold on Louis when the voluptuously beautiful Madame de Montespan (Fig. 49) set herself to conquer the king. Montespan triumphed, and La Vallière retired into a convent (1674), while the new favorite's husband had to flee to escape the Bastille, and the Duke of Montlausier, the go-between, was named tutor of the dauphin.

The children of the sovereign, legitimate and illegitimate, lived together at court, as if no other arrangement were possible. The dauphin, Louis, born in 1661, was brought up in seclusion and with rigorous severity, rather as a scholar than as a statesman and general.

PLATE XV.



Louis XIV., King of France.

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by Gerard Edelinck (1640-1707) ; original painting by Jean de la Haye

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*Louise Françoise de la Baume-le
Blanc, Duchesse de la Vallière*

a Paris chez la Veuve Moncornet rue St Jacques vis à vis St Yves avec Privilège du Roy.

FIG. 48.—Duchess de La Vallière. A reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by Gerard Edelinek (1640-1707).

Every natural impulse or feeling of independence was repressed. It was clear that the king was resolved to be without a rival, even in the person of his son. The dauphin was married to Maria Anna Victoria,



A Paris chez la veuve Montcornet rue St. Jacques vis à vis St. Yves Avec Priv. le 10. Mars 1670.

FIG. 19.—Marquise de Montespan. A reduced facsimile of an engraving by Gerard Edelinek (1640–1707 ; original painting by Benoist.

the intellectual and accomplished daughter of the Elector of Bavaria, whom Louis hoped thus to bind indissolubly to France. Of this marriage there were born two sons, the Dukes of Burgundy and Anjou.

But the king manifested much more affection for his illegitimate

children than for the dauphin and his sons. They all bore the name "de Bourbon," just as the legitimate princes of the blood did, and took rank between these and the ordinary dukes. The illegitimate daughters were married only to princes. There was policy in Louis's care for his illegitimate children. Whatever sprang from the monarchy should be pre-eminent over all the rest of humanity.

The influence and power of the leading families Louis sought to undermine by ruining them financially. With this end, he encouraged gambling at court. To this there were added brilliant festivals. The Duke of Vendôme, for example, gave a series of such entertainments—with Lully's music and male and female dancers from the Parisian opera—of which one alone cost 100,000 livres. Since the great could no longer vie with one another in politics, they now sought to gratify their ambition by outshining one another in pomp and luxury. The consequence of all this was that one after another of the princely possessions melted away, and one after another of the great families sank into poverty and was lost to sight. To satisfy his creditors, the Duke of Vendôme had to sell houses and estates to the value of nearly 2,500,000 livres. It pleased the king to come to the help of these people whose ruin he had indirectly worked. He gave them remunerative offices, money, pensions, or letters of protection against their creditors, thus, at the same time, sealing their bondage. Yet, notwithstanding these benevolent acts, more and more of the great families died out, and their possessions fell to the king's bastards. But the more subservient the magnates showed themselves toward the king, the more brutal were they toward their inferiors, and the more mercilessly did they deal with their peasantry. Louis XIV., indeed, as the apt scholar of Richelieu and Mazarin, had given his nobility an impossible position, which was the remote cause of the fearful reprisals of the Revolution.

In Paris, Louis let himself be seen only on festival occasions when his presence was indispensable. The remembrance of the revolutionary doings of the Fronde had filled him with an insuperable aversion to his "good Parisians." Moreover, he did not care to sojourn in a place, the multitude of whose inhabitants tended to cast his majesty into the shade. He preferred to enthrone himself in a residence created by himself, Versailles, where naught occurred that had no relation to him, and where his courtiers, servants, and workmen constituted the whole world. Versailles was "a favorite without merit"; the country was dreary, monotonous, deserted; the air malarious; the water unwholesome. But, like Peter the Great, Louis XIV. resolved to subdue nature to his caprice. Like the Egyptian Pharaohs, he regarded it as nothing that

workmen and soldiers perished by thousands in the miasmatic atmosphere. In vain Colbert remonstrated against the enormous sums which the grounds and buildings swallowed. From the year 1678 and the conclusion of the Peace of Nimwegen, Louis had been at work in carrying out his vast plan with the assistance of the architect, Mansard. Simultaneously with this, buildings were in progress at the Trianon, at St.-Germain, Marly, and, for Madame de Montespan, at Clagny. At Versailles alone (PLATE XVI. and Figs. 50-53), 22,000 men and

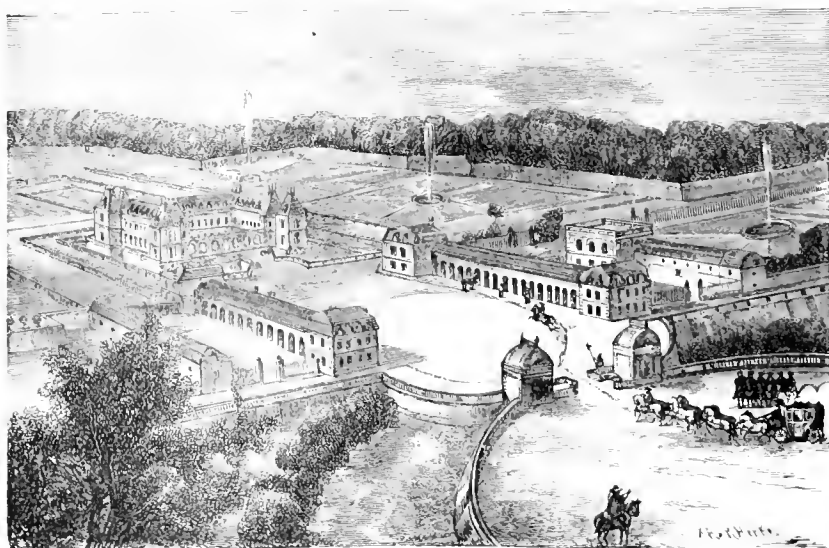
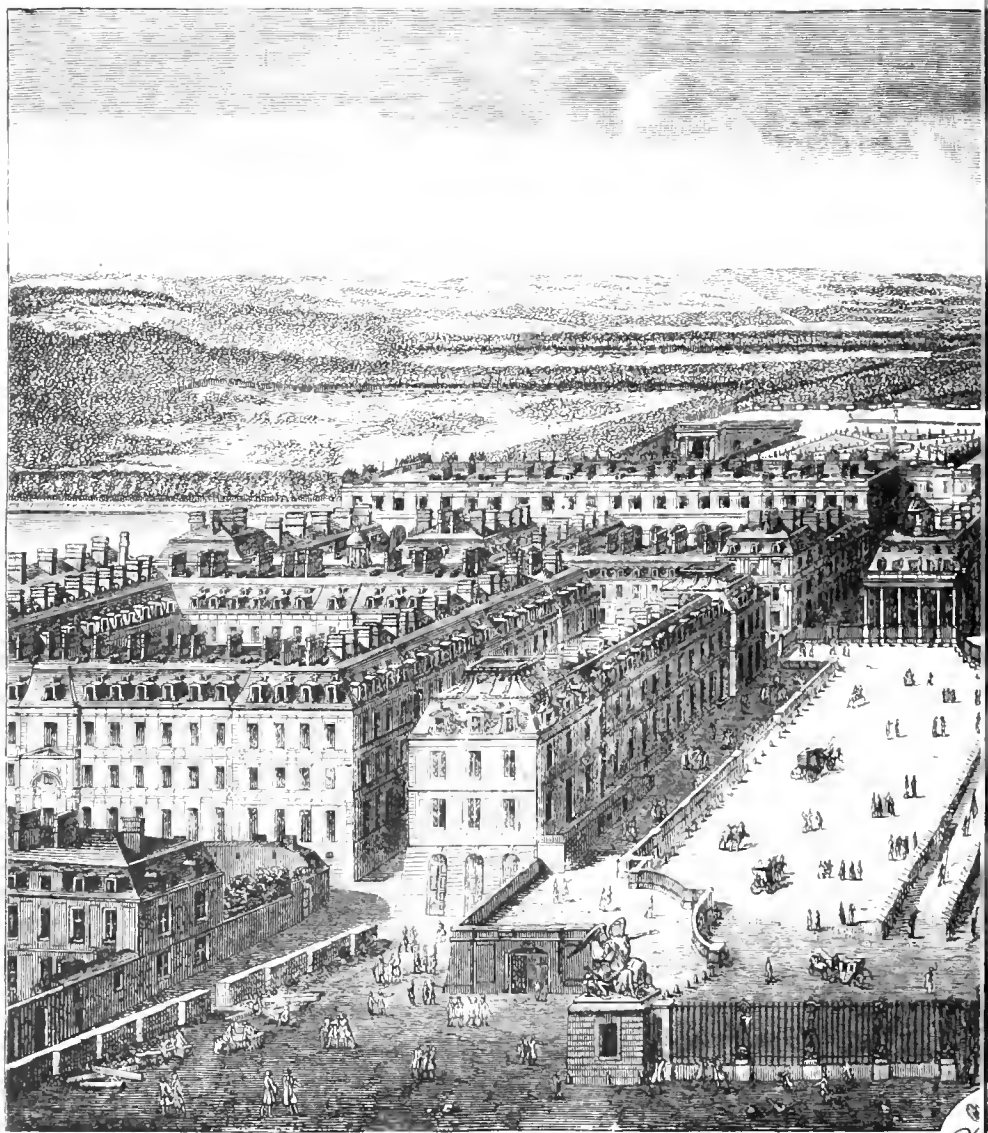


FIG. 50.—Palace of Versailles in the first years of the reign of Louis XIV. (After Laborde.)

6000 horses were occasionally employed. Thus arose an edifice more showy and astonishing than beautiful. The dead, spiritless pomp only offends the taste. In the park, Lenôtre laid out an endless maze of alleys, bosquets, temples, theatres, arbors, and grottoes of all sorts, formed out of the unfortunate and maltreated trees. A host of statues peoples this stiff-lined green palace, but, just as little as this is a garden, are the Jupiter, Venus, Juno, Neptune, the divinities of classic antiquity. Jupiter is Louis XIV. without the peruke, which he made fashionable in all Europe, and blue velvet coat; Venus and Minerva are La Vallière or Montespan; Apollo, a "marquis," with his precise, theatrical mien; Mars, an elegant, self-conscious marshal of France.

It was the same in the interior of the palace—Louis XIV., and he alone. No memorial of his glorious predecessors: *his* victories, *his*



View of the Palace of Versailles
After the copper-plate engraving by P. Mérou.

History of Art Nations, Vol. XIII, page 178.



rsailles in the year 1715.
t; original drawing from nature by the same.

triumphs, *his* greatness and omnipotence, beamed upon him from the walls and ceilings, from the gold and marble trophies and statues. What other man than Louis XIV. could have borne to see everywhere nothing but his own apotheosis?

Versailles cost the king 150,000,000 livres, something like 180,000,000 dollars of our present money. But without regard to this enormous outlay and the consequent intolerable burden of the taxes, Louis built for himself at Marly a villa, where, of course, everything sug-

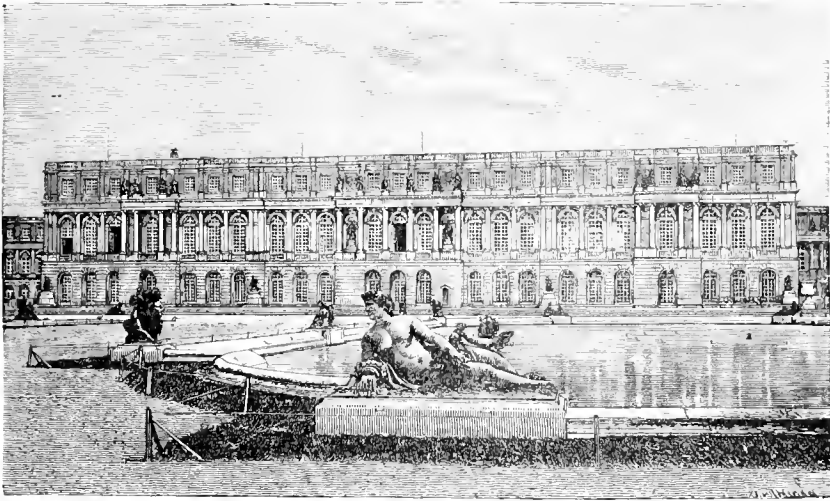


FIG. 51.—The palace of Versailles, seen from the terrace. (After a photograph.)

gested an earthly god that constantly demanded the adoration of attendant priests.

This frenzied mania for building, which was also extended to the old palaces of Chambord and Fontainebleau, exhausted Louis's finances in the years of peace, and, in a great measure, annihilated the old victorious regiments through sicknesses engendered by hard toil in unhealthy districts.

In the lustre and glory of the present, Louis did not forget the future, and wished to live for posterity in history and song. With this object in view, he patronized scholars and poets, in order that through their productions his fame and glory might be perpetuated for later ages. Yet, to tell the truth, the pensions he bestowed on French authors were by no means extravagant. Foreign *literati*—Dutch, German, Italian—also experienced his bounty in the form of bills of exchange on the bankers of the Most Christian King, accompanied by flattering letters. His

fame was not only to reach down to latest times, but to be spread abroad over all Christendom. Allured by this royal homage to genius, authors flocked around him in crowds, and became his servants, to devote all their abilities to the magnifying of his renown.

In 1672, Louis declared himself the patron of the French Academy, and gave up the royal palace of the Louvre for its sittings. Along with Colbert, he founded the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, as well as the Academy of Natural Science. Nor were the arts overlooked. They, too, must be enlisted in the service of *Le Grand Monarque*. First

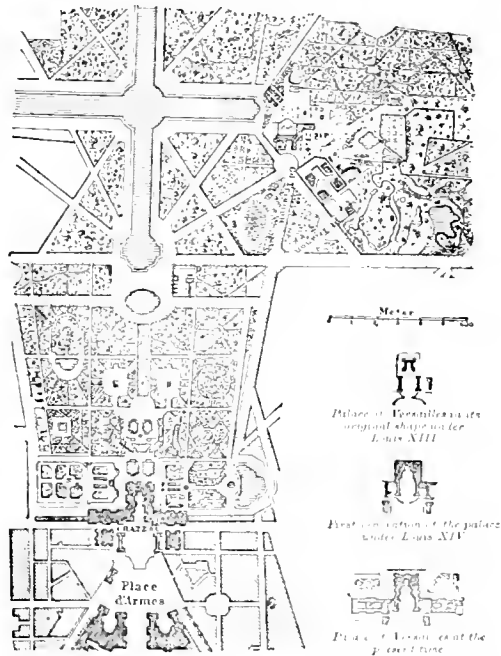


FIG. 52.—Ground plan of the palace of Versailles. (After Laborde.)

he instituted the Academy of Painting, and then a French school of art in Rome. An Academy of Architecture and one of Music followed.

The age of Louis XIV. was, indeed, the period of the highest development of that one-sided, narrow school of literature which has been dignified with the title of the "classic" school of French poetry. In Pierre Corneille, freedom in thought and expression had continued to maintain a struggling existence. His successor and victorious rival, Jean Racine (Fig. 54), more adroit in treatment and more fluent in style, has yet far less strength and individuality. His tenderly sentimental heroes and heroines, with their amours and elegant, fine-

sounding, amiably flattering speeches, are true portraits from the society of Versailles and Marly. Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Asiatics, as they appeared on the boards with their perukes, little hats, and jeweled swords,

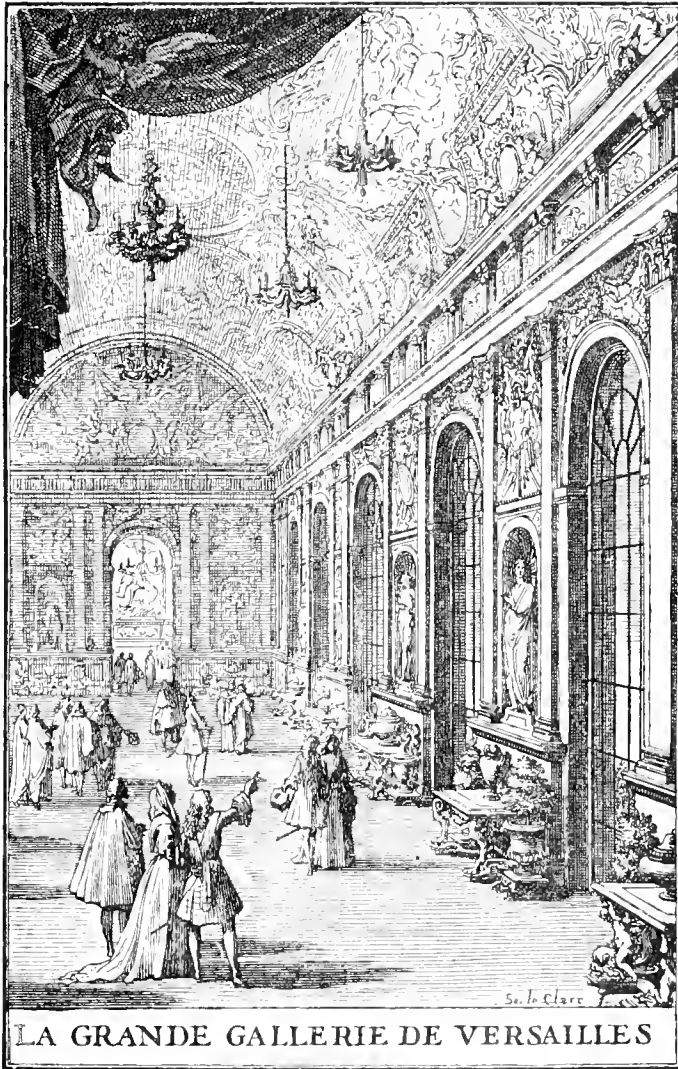


FIG. 53.—The grand gallery in the palace of Versailles. Facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by Sébastien Leclerc (1637-1711).

felt and spoke exactly like the courtiers of Louis XIV. Alexander, Agamemnon, Titus, were, of course, the sun-king himself. Boileau

(Fig. 55), Racine's friend, admitted that Racine "formed all his heroes after him." To the euphony of his diction and tenderness of his sentiment—these characteristics of a finished, or rather of an over-refined,



FIG. 54.—Jean Racine. Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707).

civilization—it is due, that to this day Racine maintains a high place among poets.

As in Racine we find more rhetoric than true poetry, so we discover

cool, critical calculation to be the distinguishing characteristic of Nicholas Boileau. In his cold but well-turned verses, he seeks to establish the exclusive and tyrannical sway of rule, of etiquette, and sound judgment in the domain of poetry, assailing, in his satires, not only the perverted, the unnatural, and exaggerated, but also all poetic fire and the upward soaring of genius. His "Epistles" are masterpieces of this well-trained, courtly, and respectable muse: they are eulogies on Louis XIV. As the culmination of his labors, we have his "*L'Art Poétique*." Here the dramatic, the lyric, and the comic poet are taught how they are to



FIG. 55.—Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux. After a copper-engraving, 1704, by Pierre Drevet (1664-1739); original painting by Roger de Piles (1635-1709).

press onward toward the ideal of their art. Unwearied labor, the surmounting of innumerable difficulties, and constant effort—these are the essentials for a great poet; but of genius—not a word. Boileau's best gift was wit, but that rather as an intellectual than poetical endowment, as is seen in his charming comic piece, "*Le Lutrin*."

To the same school as Boileau belongs the inimitable fable-writer, La Fontaine (Fig. 56), who has been styled the most French of all poets: that is, he has a high respect for common sense, is light and amiable, vivacious rather than passionate, sentimental without enthusiasm, moral-

izing and speculative without sourness, and flexible in accommodating himself to positive religion. Popular as the fable is meant to be, it could, in La Fontaine, reflect, without injury to its popularity, that accommodating morality with whose well-sounding platitudes immorality and selfishness were often excused. This showed itself also in La Fontaine's personality, for he was so openly, so cynically immoral as grievously to offend the highly decorous court of Louis XIV. Moreover, he had been the friend of the unfortunate *intendant* Fouquet, while his muse was of no direct service in glorifying the great king. In spite of all supplications, he never received any mark of Louis's favor.



FIG. 56.--Jean de La Fontaine. After a copper-engraving by Dupin; original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).

It is significant as showing the rationalistic tendency of the French mind at this time that moralizing literature proper came now into existence. Its true parent was the Duke of La Rochefoucauld, in his "Maxims." More superficial, but more attractive for the masses, are the "Characters" of La Bruyère, a series of moral dissertations written in the light vein of a philosopher and designed for that world that wishes to laugh while it is instructed. The transition is not great from these pleasing moral sketches to the classical letters of Madame de Sévigné, that exquisitely polished mirror of her time. Bright, thoughtful, witty, in no wise malicious, indifferent to morals, and skillful in form, Madame de Sévigné is a perfect type of the age of Louis XIV. Finally, the novel

was elevated above the mannerism of Scudéry by Madame de La Fayette in her "Princess of Cleves."

Towering high above these writers and the countless crowd of lesser



FIG. 57.—Molière. After a copper-plate engraving by Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet (1731–1797); original painting by Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671).

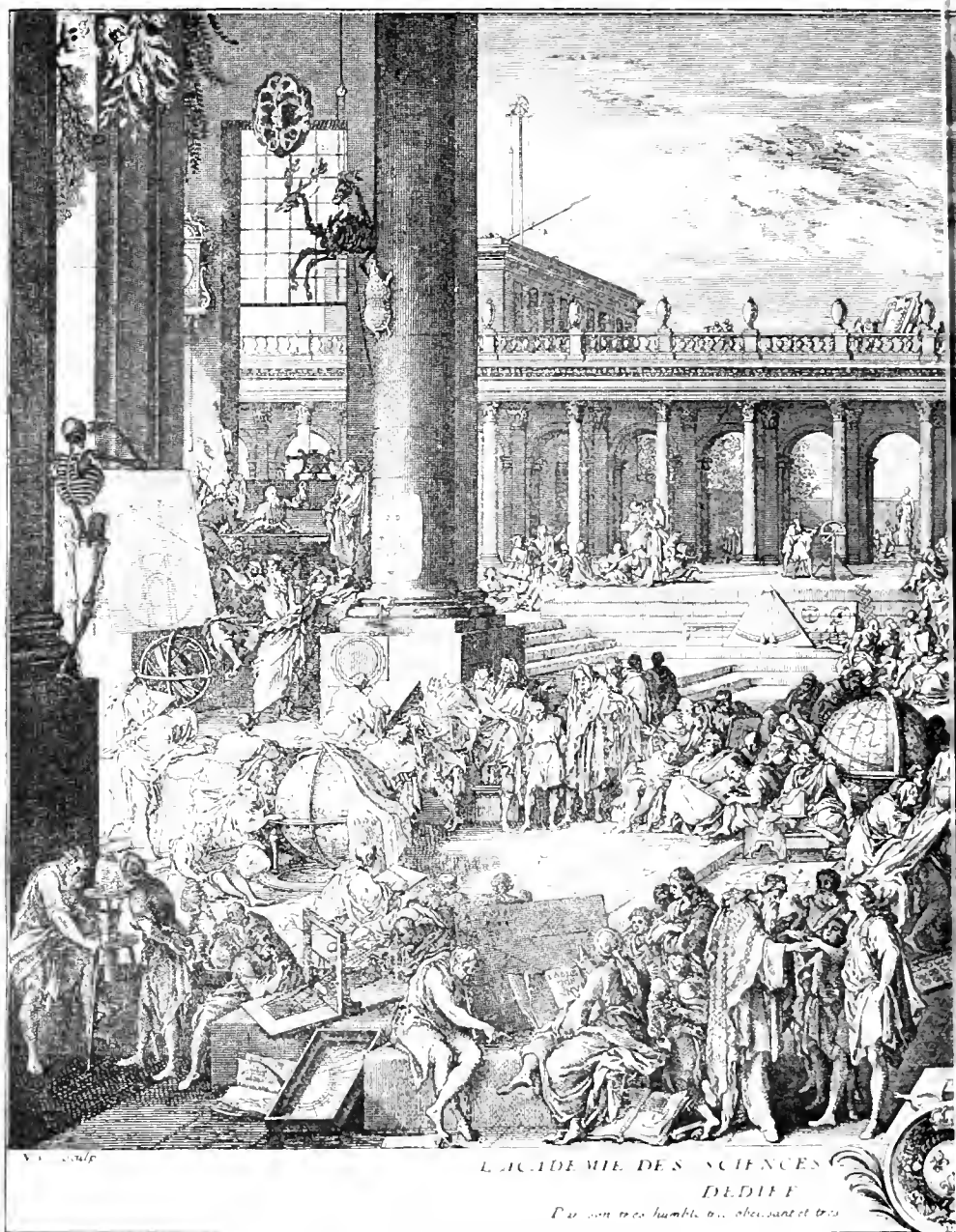
spirits, stands Molière, the greatest poet that France ever produced. Like every writer of comedies, Molière availed himself of the types that his age presented. But the genius of Molière lies in the fact that he knows how to elevate himself above the transitory, and to lay hold of the

abiding and eternal. After not a few difficulties and struggles, Molière (Fig. 57), the son of an upholsterer, had the good-fortune to secure the protection of the great monarch himself. Adroitly timed flatteries confirmed his position, and Louis earned the merit of defending him against those enemies who felt that they were ridiculed in his comedies. The king's judgment was sufficiently clear to recognize in the poet's immortal works one of the chief glories of his reign. Especially lively was the contest in regard to "*Tartufe*." The sanctimonious felt themselves too severely hit, not to make every effort for its suppression. The Archbishop of Paris condemned it in a pastoral letter; Lamoignon, the first president of the Parlement of Paris, prohibited its representation; the great pulpit-orator, Bourdaloue, preached against it. Yet, after a four years' struggle, Molière procured from Louis a permit for its production.

The great writers of Louis's reign were the product of a freer and individually more independent time, and were, as a class, ready moulded when this monarch took the reins of government on the death of Mazarin. That his system of rule was not favorable to the development of the creative power nor intellectually stimulating, there is no clearer proof than the barrenness that set in during the second half of his reign. After the death of the great men who were developed before his personal rule began, none appeared that could, in the remotest measure, fill their places, till greater spirits came forward when freer times dawned again during the Regency and the first decades of the reign of Louis XV. The effects of Louis's selfish despotism were yet more unpropitious for art than for letters, the reason being that on literature he and Colbert exercised only an indirect influence, while on art their influence was direct, forcing it into a mould of monotonous uniformity characteristic of the whole state organism. Every branch of art was squeezed into court dress.

Painting (PLATE XVII.), owing to the influence of the French Academy in Rome, was an outgrowth of the Italian school of the Carracci, whose coarse naturalism French art polished and decked out after the type of nature seen in the garden of Lenôtre. This pernicious tendency reached its height in Louis's favorite court painter, Charles Lebrun (1619-1690), who ruled art with a despotism as unscrupulous as that with which the sovereign ruled the state. He made use of his unlimited influence to induce Louis to repress all genuine originality, and to show favor only to his own servile disciples and imitators. His main works are battle-scenes and allegorical compositions innumerable, dedicated to the glory of Louis XIV.

French plastic art, too, was ruled by Italy, and especially by the



The Academy of the Sciences
Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII., page 156.



es and the Fine Arts.
g by Sébastien Leclerc (1637-1714).

well-known Lorenzo Bernini. His exaggerated naturalism so captivated Louis's fancy that he summoned him to Paris, where he received him with princely distinction and chose him for his counselor in all works of sculpture and architecture. The leading French representatives of the school of Bernini were Girardon and Puget. Here, too, portraiture alone achieved good results in the admirable Lyonese, Coysevox.

But, most of all, Louis loved architecture, because its works most readily strike the eye, and, above all, bring the power and riches of the patron most prominently into view. The Mansards, uncle and nephew, knew little more than how to produce colossal edifices, overladen with details, but really poor and insipid in conception, at a cost of hundreds of millions of livres. By far the best specimen of this school is Claude Perrault's main façade of the Louvre. But Perrault, too, was the child of an earlier age, and was never a favorite of Louis XIV.

Such were the services of this monarch to art. His favor only ruined it. How was it with the sciences? During Louis's whole reign, there appeared no great historian, no jurist of importance, no naturalist of the first rank. Charles du Fresne, Sieur Du Cange, was held in high esteem, especially for his "Gallo-Byzantine History" and his "History of the Empire of Constantinople under the French Emperors," in which he narrates the heroic achievements of the French in the East, and sets them off against the later services of the house of Austria in the defence of Christendom against the Moslems. For this reason, the king interested himself in these works, and Colbert subsidized them. But for Du Cange's standard works, dictionaries of Middle and Late Latin and of Modern Greek, he found no royal encouragement; for of what service were these to *Le Grand Monarque*? Under the influence of the attention paid to the glorious deeds of France in the Middle Ages, there were produced the invaluable historical works of the Benedictine Congregation of St.-Maur. We mention here only the epoch-making work of Mabillon, "Concerning Diplomatics" (*De Re Diplomatica*).

Philosophy, which in the preceding age had had such representatives as Descartes, Gassendi, and Pascal, could not unfold itself unmolested under an autoeratic and ecclesiastical rule. It had therefore to content itself with such second-rate opponents of Cartesianism as Huet and Daniel, or such blind followers of Descartes as Geulinx and the mystic, Malebranche.

The king, much more than the pope, was head of the French church; Fénelon has given open expression to this. All the hopes of the clergy

for advancement, wealth, and power centred in the sovereign. The church was thus knit to the crown by the strongest bands, and Louis, in defending it, merely sustained his own authority. All the reverence which attached to the church and all its immense power over the minds of men were employed to teach the doctrine of unconditional obedience to the monarchy.



FIG. 58.—Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. After an engraving by C. Roy; original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).

Richelieu, in his choice of bishops, had looked carefully to their learning, character, and disciplinary ability. He thus elevated the clergy in every way, making them worthy of the great influence they exercised on the nation. Admirable theologians and pulpit-orators grew up in the school of Richelieu. In eloquence and learning, Bourdaloue, Fléchier, and Bossuet (Fig. 58) have scarcely had their equals.

What the church did for the poor, for the softening of manners, and for the limitation of the mania for litigation, will ever redound to her credit. Louis now set before her entirely different objects. His aim here, as elsewhere, was to make her a tool for the aggrandizement of his power, dependent entirely on the court, and accordingly he filled her higher offices with needy nobles and personal favorites. "I am," says Louis himself in his memoirs, "absolute master, and have therefore the full and free right of disposing of all property, ecclesiastical as well as secular, in order to make use of it for the interests of the state."

The church was then rent by the strife between the Jansenists and Jesuits. Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, had, in his book *Augustinus* (published in 1640, two years after his death), revived and expanded the doctrine of this father concerning free grace, which had constituted the fundamental principle of the German Reformers. This brought his teaching into collision with the Jesuit doctrine of the expiation of sins through outward observances.

Through Jansen's friend, Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbot of St.-Cyran, his principles were propagated in France, and rapidly found acceptance among the foremost spirits. Above all, they were warmly embraced in the convent of Port-Royal, which had been removed from Versailles to Paris, and spread with extraordinary rapidity among the intellectual leaders of French society. The same classes which four generations before had thrown themselves into the arms of Protestantism now associated themselves with the doctrines of Port-Royal—among them being a thinker like Pascal, a poet like Racine, and a scholar like the historian Tillemont.

Jansenism was essentially revolutionary—revolutionary against the established church views and forms, as well as against the system of secular government, based as it was on outward pomp and ceremonies. Mazarin now caused the five propositions, which Jansen was said to have taught, to be condemned as heretical by Pope Alexander VII., and to be stamped as emanating from Jansen (1664). The Jansenists, who maintained that they were thoroughly good Catholics, replied that this declaration overstepped the limits of papal authority; that the pope was not so far infallible as to convert facts, falsely so called, into the truth. Thus the controversy was extended to the question of the limits of the papal authority.

The nuns of Port-Royal declined to subscribe to the papal decision, wherefore they were arrested by the police and detained as prisoners in different convents (1664). The laymen who believed in Jansenism had

to conceal themselves, because such as were detected were thrown into the Bastille.

But the constancy of the Jansenists gained them friends, especially as their enemies, the Jesuits, were hated by the other clergy. The Sorbonne, as well as the Parlement, pronounced emphatically against papal infallibility. The majority in the general assemblies of the French clergy declared against "this new and unheard-of dogma." Louis himself was not disinclined to espouse the views of the Gallican clergy. His mediation enabled the mild Clement IX., in 1668, to come to an understanding with the French episcopate. Now the persecuted were restored to favor. Port-Royal and its daughter monastery were reopened, and Jansenists, like the minister Pomponne, were seen in the immediate circle of the monarch.

But Jansenism did not on this account lose its character of antagonism toward the domineering system of Louis, and he was soon to find himself on the side of Rome.

A controversy had broken out in the four most southern provinces of France about the right of the *régale*—the right which the king had of taking the episcopal revenues during the vacancy of a see. In 1673, Louis issued an edict extending this right over all France. The question arose whether the secular power could disregard the decrees of the councils of the church in matters affecting the church only in its external or political aspect.

The majority of bishops in the four provinces yielded submissively to the royal will, opposition being offered only by two; and these were men who stood at the head of the ascetic Jansenist school—Bishops Pavillon of Alet and Caulet of Pamiers.

This abrupt procedure on the part of the king, and especially the treachery of the French clergy to the church, called forth the indignation of Pope Innocent XI. In a letter addressed to the chapter of Pamiers, he approved of all its proceedings and decreed the excommunication of the Archbishop of Toulouse (January, 1681), who was among the supporters of the king. This papal letter roused even more excitement among the French clergy than in the government. On the solicitation of the episcopate, Louis summoned a meeting of the French clergy for October, 1681, and he it was who indicated to the several provinces the deputies to be chosen, and who really controlled the sittings. The assembly, by acknowledging the king's authority to extend his right of *régale* over the four hitherto exempted provinces, in opposition to the express prescriptions of the pope, and consequently his right to disregard the decisions of the highest ecclesiastical powers, brought

up the general question of the extent of the authority of the pope. The renowned four propositions sanctioned by the French clergy, March 19, 1682, were adopted on the motion of Bossuet. The first of these declares that the papal authority extends only over spiritual things, and not over secular. Kings, therefore, cannot be deposed by the pope, nor their subjects set free from their oath of allegiance; the second, that, in accordance with the council of Constance, the papal authority is subject to the decisions of ecumenical councils; the third, that the papal power must regulate itself in accordance with the universally received ecclesiastical laws, and particularly according to the rights and usages of the Gallican church; the fourth, that the decisions of the pope in matters of faith are provisionally binding on all Catholics, but do not become final till accepted by an ecumenical council.

The king was highly delighted with this declaration, and forthwith ordered that it should be expounded in all ecclesiastical institutions of learning and accepted by the whole French clergy. Innocent XI. practically declared the declaration null and void, and expressed the hope that, "after better examination, the assembly would preserve its conscience and the good name of the French clergy." But the king afforded the assembly no time for consideration, and dissolved it forthwith.

Yet all did not yield to the pretensions of the French monarch and his clerical servants. The Sorbonne condemned the proceedings of the assembly, and a number of its most renowned doctors were banished. The people of Paris declared openly in their favor. Innocent was all the more decided not to let himself be intimidated by Louis's secular power. Almost all Catholic Christendom took his part.

But Louis knew how to maintain his position. As the pope refused to sanction the elevation of any supporters of the four theses to bishoprics, the king caused the respective chapters to elect them as vicars general, who, during a vacancy in the episcopal chair, had nearly the full power of the bishop. Thus France set itself resolutely in opposition to the rest of the Catholic world. The question was, would Louis be able to make good his claims?

He trusted to the uninterrupted advance of the power of France during the whole seventeenth century. The French showed themselves expert in all departments of industry and art. While they had made themselves entirely independent of foreign imports, their own wares were eagerly sought for in every country of Europe. Husbandry produced a sufficiency of grain, the best wines in the world, the finest oil, the best vegetables, and the richest raw silk. The population had increased from ten millions at the close of the Civil War to eighteen. The industrial

and commercial centre of this wide empire was Paris. Colbert did not let Paris suffer through the king's dislike of it. Besides the manufactures which he established there and the monumental structures which he erected, he labored with great zeal on the embellishment (i. e., modernization) of the city. With his strongly practical turn of mind, he had little sympathy with the wonderful memorials of the Middle Ages. Their towers, balconies, projections, and alleys, with their incommodious but picturesque irregularity, vanished before long and (for that time) broad streets, which permitted the entrance of air and light to the environs of the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the Place Royale. Among the most important of the improvements here was the conversion of the ramparts into broad streets of unrivaled beauty, which were planted with trees and still bear the name of the Boulevards (i. e., bulwarks). The number of the streets was estimated at a thousand, and on these stood 25,000 houses. From dusk till two o'clock in the morning the streets were lighted by 5000 lanterns—a novelty at which everyone was amazed. The population amounted to some 500,000, and was greater than that of any other European city.

But the intolerable burdens left by the constant wars (PLATE XVIII.)¹ and Colbert's inexorable financial system, with his discouragement of agriculture, gradually gave to France a changed and more troubled aspect. High as the taxes were, they did not suffice fully to maintain the army, and the unprivileged were further burdened by having to furnish free quarters and food to soldiers on the march. Everywhere the inhabitants fled before the extortions and outrages of the soldiers. Whole cities, especially in the frontier districts, were deserted. The English philosopher, Locke, who made a tour through Southern France, and also a courtier of Louis testify that the citizen had to give up half of his income to the tax-collector, that lands had lost all value through the burdens imposed on them, and that bankruptcies were increasing at a fearful ratio. In hard winters, thousands died through want of cloth-

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVIII.

Facsimile of the autograph letter of Louis XIV. to Marshal Turenne.

„A mon cousin le vicomte de Turenne.

A Versailles le 17^e Mars 1673.

„Quoique jaie ordonné au marquis de Louvoy de vous tesmoigner de ma part la satisfaction que jai de ce que vous avés fait pour la gloire de mes armes je suis bien aise de vous dire moy mesme ce qui en est et que je suis tres satisfait de toutes la conduite que vous avés tenue en ce rencontre. Le succès heureux que nous avons en depuis quelque temps vous doit aussi donner beaucoup de joie. Sachant lamitié que jai pour vous vous croirés aisément que nous la partageons ensemble. Sois assuré quelle durera toujours et que vous en recevrés des marques en continuant a me servir comme vous faites.


Louis.“

à M. de La Haye le 17^e mars 1673

Après que jure ordonne au marquis
de Louvois de nous Rembourser
de ma part la satisfaction
que j'en ai ce que nous nous
fait pour la splendeur de nos
armes je suis bien aise ~~de~~
~~de~~ de nous faire un jour même
ce que en est de vous je suis
bien satisfait de toutes les
conduites que vous avez tenue
en ce rencontre ~~de~~ de l'ennemi
de l'ennemi que nous aurons en
quelques jours de temps.
Avec aussi d'arriver beaucoup

doigne
sachant l'amitié que par vous
vous nous croirez assurément
que j'ai par votre lettre
été assuré que le clerc
vous envoie tout en même
des manières de votre
à me tenir comme vous l'avez

STWJ



if you can see
the inside of the
turning



ing, food, and fuel. This was the dark side of the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. Of sympathy with or pity for the *canaille*, the king and his ministers and gilded courtiers knew nothing. Colbert alone had, to the utmost of his power, withstood the mania for wars and buildings and the crushing down of the people through new taxes and loans.

The nobles, too, were now to exist only through the favor of the ruler. The number of noble families was estimated at 50,000, with some 250,000 members—about the seventy-fifth part of the nation. Designedly ruined by the expenses heaped on them by the king, and robbed of every feeling of independence through severe punishments and capriciously granted rewards, the first families of France plunged blindly into slavery. That turbulent and adventurous courage which had made the nobility so often dangerous to the crown was now utilized for its service on countless battlefields. In the circle of their confidants, they might bewail the humiliation of their situation; but no one was daring enough to withdraw from the slavery under which all sighed. From his great forerunners, the two cardinals, Louis had learned to regard individualization as the best means for the maintenance and confirmation of despotism. So long as there was in France no other point of unity than the monarchy, not only was every dangerous outbreak of the general discontent averted, but every wish and aspiration of the individual looked for fulfillment to the will and favor of the sovereign.

Mid the increasing misery of his subjects, Louis, for his sole glorification, surrounded himself with a luxury such as was never before witnessed. In one single year, the court festivities cost 2,000,000 francs. When the king ascended his throne to receive foreign ambassadors, he wore robes of incalculable value, the diamonds alone costing more than 16,000,000 francs. His table, the liveries of his servants, the foreign plants that decorated his apartments, were all objects of his reckless prodigality. A journey that he undertook to Versailles cost 1,200,000 francs.

Of course the great sought to win his favor by endeavoring to vie with him in splendor. A fête given in his honor by the Great Condé at Chantilly (1671) cost more than 1,000,000 francs. But these *grandees* had not, like Louis, the coffers of the exchequer at their unlimited disposal, and so came to ruin. They helped themselves as best they could—paid their creditors little or nothing, and begged the king for gifts and pensions at the cost of the poor taxpayers. They even had recourse to marriage with the daughters of rich *bourgeois*, who paid down their money willingly to see their grandchildren decorated with the lustre of high rank. But this afforded help only to a few; the nobility, as a whole, was irremediably impoverished.

This luxury fostered a general dissoluteness of morals, for which the king himself set the example. Such as would play the Cato by the assumption of a severer virtue were regarded as a sort of opposition. The courtiers bent the knee, not only to Madame de Montespan, but also to Madame Dufresnoy, an apothecary's daughter, whom Louvois honored with his love. Montespan was glorified by Racine, Boileau, and La Fontaine. But worse for morality and virtue than this pensioned adulation was the fact that Louis compelled his unhappy, neglected wife to receive her victorious rival, and to visit and welcome her children. For some months in 1679, Montespan had to dread the lasting victory of a younger rival, Marie Angélique de Fontanges. For a year, she enjoyed absolute dominion; but, when she sickened in consequence of a miscarriage, she was sent by her heartless lover into a convent, where sickness and grief killed her in her twentieth year.

Profligacy knew no bounds. The houses of the Princes of Conti and the Duke of Orleans were little better than brothels. The *bourgeois*, too, imitated their superiors, and this all the more because marriage had become entirely a mercenary matter among them.

The degeneracy in morals could not but be associated with more heinous crimes. Who has not heard of the "inheritance powders" of the Marquise de Brinvilliers? This woman sprang from an honorable family, but, vicious from her earliest youth, had learned from her lover, Sainte-Croix, how to prepare poisons that killed without leaving any trace. She made use of her skill to clear her father and brothers and sisters from her path, so that the family inheritance fell to her. For six years the murderess continued undetected, till an accident revealed the horrible secret. She was beheaded in 1676, and many persons of rank were suspected of being her accomplices.

These suspicions seemed justified when in 1679 a new poison-trial was begun that cast the Brinvilliers case into the shade. There lived in Paris a woman named Monvoisin, commonly called "the Voisin," a card-reader, who, like persons of her class, practiced all sorts of secret arts—among others, the preparation of love-powders, detection of thieves, the discovery of hidden treasures, and the means of preserving perpetual youth. Her expensive way of living awakened the suspicion of the police, and she was arrested. As people forthwith began to allege poisoning, the king instituted a special tribunal for the investigation of all such offences. On the evidence given by the Voisin, some of the highest personages of the court were arrested—the Countess of Soissons, the Princess of Tingry, the Duchesses of Bouillon and Foix, Marshal de Luxembourg, and others. Most of them were ultimately liberated, but

without having fully cleared themselves of suspicion; others were punished by fine or banishment; the Voisin herself and her accomplices were executed.

Undisturbed by such disclosures, Louis, like the Roman emperors, succumbed more and more to the enervating influences of omnipotent Caesarism. Nothing is more indicative of this ruler's views and purposes than his carefully prepared and revised diary. Here he speaks out with naïve clearness. The lives and property of his subjects belong unconditionally to the king. Everything great and glorious proceeds from him alone. The earlier founders of the power of France were thought no more of than the present assistants of the king. Richelieu and Mazarin were as if they had never been. France's greatness dated from Louis XIV.

Colbert fell into disfavor because he opposed the king's extravagance. Finally, exhausted by labor and attacked by disease, he died on September 6, 1683. Louvois now had the field to himself. By flattering the monarch beyond all bounds, conforming to all the schemes of his ambition, vanity, and insatiable cupidity, he came to be, far more than the sovereign himself, the motive power in politics. He was practically omnipotent, appointing and dismissing ministers at pleasure, and interfering in all branches of the administration. The upright and refined Pomponne had roused his wrath by being "seized," as he himself expressed it, "with the disease of taking his duties in earnest."

In 1679, shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Nimwegen, Pomponne was dismissed with every mark of the royal disfavor. Louvois was now undisputed master. This minister's appearance and demeanor in no wise proclaimed the man of genius. Nevertheless he was a man of high ability, of unwearied assiduity, and cool and self-reliant amid the overpowering multitude of details that assailed him. Prompt in his decisions, he was methodical and logical in the execution of them, and all but infallible in his choice of instruments. Yet, notwithstanding all these great qualities, he prepared bitter misfortunes for France and her king. Himself and his family he enriched with high positions and emoluments of all kinds. But the manner in which he conducted the foreign policy of France was simply ruinous. Brutal violence, unbridled arrogance, unbounded audacity, and a constant violation of the rights of others—such were the means by which Louvois planned to maintain and increase the greatness of France, and by which he at last drove all Europe to arms against her and brought about the ruin of the state.

To add to this, the spectre of the yearly deficit appeared with ever

more terrible mien. On the death of Colbert, the yearly income of the kingdom amounted to more than 110,000,000 livres (about \$132,000,000 of our present money); but thoughtful observers were convinced that twice this sum was extorted from the people by the farmers and collectors of the taxes.

And yet the expenditure regularly exceeded the income, for the king would neither reduce his army, nor restrict his building and festivities. In five years (1684 to 1688), the deficit mounted up to 82,000,000 livres (nearly \$100,000,000), which the government tried to cover by loans and anticipations. In one year, the king squandered on diamonds 2,000,000 livres, on buildings 15,000,000 (together equal to about \$20,400,000). And this same king had the insolence to say, in answer to his minister's admonitions to economy: "I regret the height of the taxes, but they are all needed."

Thus the people were burdened continually with new taxes. And what was the result? The governor of Dauphiny writes to Colbert in 1675: "I cannot refrain from portraying to you the misery into which this province has sunk. Business is at a complete standstill, and people come to me from all quarters with the prayer that I should represent to the king how impossible it is for them to pay the imposts. It is certain . . . that the greater part of the people of our province in winter lived solely on acorns and roots, and that you may now see them eating the grass of the meadows and the bark of trees."

Discontent and disaffection prevailed throughout all the land. In 1685 the merchants of Paris presented a memorial to the king, filled with complaints regarding the decay of industry and trade. Scarcely a year passed without revolts of greater or less moment, in some province or other. The most dangerous were the revolts of 1675—in Bordeaux against the indirect taxes, in Brittany a veritable peasants' war against all authority, the bureaucracy, and the aristocracy. On the close of the campaign abroad, the government had troops enough to suppress the rebellion with great cruelty and rapacity. While the later world admires the brilliant era of Louis XIV., it was for the contemporary world a time of oppression, suffering, and misery. The last attempts to resist the suppression of all independence were crushed. The people lost hope and heart for open resistance. They bewailed their lot in secret, and looked to Providence for that deliverance for which they themselves dared no longer strive. The great king had triumphed over his subjects, and could without molestation use his formidable power abroad, in order, as the Great Elector vigorously expressed it, "to introduce the Bastille into foreign lands."

CHAPTER VII.

FRANCE'S INFLUENCE ABROAD; THE OUTRAGES OF LOUIS XIV.

THE documents of the Peace of Westphalia had been couched in Latin. Henceforth, as a mark of the political and intellectual ascendancy of France, French became the language of diplomacy and of the higher classes all over Europe. With it, French ideas and French modes of life and thought permeated society in all civilized lands. The behests of *Le Grand Monarque* sounded forth from Paris and Versailles, to decide on war and peace, on the weal and woe of nations, and from here were issued to an admiring world the works of genius which the cultured classes of every country wondered at and read with avidity and rapture.

No longer did the youth resort to the cultured *nobili* of Venice, the long-renowned universities of Padua or Bologna, or to the refined poetical society of the Medicean Florence, to finish his education; the young cavaliers and princesses now made their pilgrimages to Paris, in order to receive the revelations of fine taste in its very capital, and then to return to their homes, inspired apostles of the brilliant and intoxicating life of France. Not French manners and speech alone reigned, but French statesmanship also was eagerly imitated abroad. The mercantile system of Colbert, with its high tariff, prohibition of imports, and fostering of native industry, was accepted everywhere. Not reciprocal exchange but reciprocal exclusion appeared the normal fundamental principle of international trade; to use as little as possible of foreign productions constituted the sum of commercial policy. A sort of Chinese wall was built up between the producers and consumers of different nationalities.

On Germany especially, desolated materially and morally by the Thirty Years' War, France made an irresistible impression. One court after another was Frenchified, and every spark of national feeling quenched. Every little lord, who ruled over some forty or fifty square miles of territory and a few thousand subjects, must have his splendid court, his guards flaunting in gold and embroideries, and his mistresses, and maltreated "his people" in the name of "reasons of state" and "the divine right of rulers." The right of the estates to

participate in the government and to grant taxes was violently annulled in defiance of all law, and the least show of opposition crushed down by the prison or scaffold.

The extravagance that a great and rich people like the French could scarcely endure in its ruler buried the indigent little territories of Germany under a load of debts. The orgies, the favorites, male and female, the luxury in clothing and at table, the mania for building, consumed the very marrow of the people. "The majority of the German princes," it is said in a contemporaneous Italian treatise on Germany, "have nothing of the prince or great lord about them save the name, the blood, and the arrogance, accompanied by a more than plebeian poverty. They are open to the temptations of anyone who gives them gold or the hope of alleviating their penury through plunder." Any French adventurer, who gave himself out as a teacher of courtly arts and fine manners, was highly honored and well paid at these petty courts. All the more servilely the natives had to approach their princes and all in high station.

From the courts and nobles, the Francomania descended to all classes. Whoever could murder a few French phrases, or intersperse his native speech with occasional French words, looked on himself as a man of culture and refinement. The pleasing manners of the French, their light and confident demeanor, their easy morality and unscrupulous hedonism, captivated all classes (Fig. 59).

Naturally this Frenchified mode invaded literature. In the first half of the seventeenth century, German poetry was still under the influence of the Italian idealistic school, whose masters were Tasso and Rucellai. As these had associated classical antiquity with pure Italian, so Martin Opitz endeavored to associate it with pure German. Immediately after him, the Francomania broke in. The Second Silesian School of poetry shows all the vices of mannerism that affected French lyrics and novels in the time of Pellisson and Sendéry. The heroes in the tragedies of Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) are not men, but either supernatural beings of unapproachable perfection or demoniacal villains black with every vice. Everywhere we find an exaggerated intensity that recalls Corneille. There was, however, an element of real strength in Gryphius, which, under French influences and the barbarism of his fatherland, failed to unfold itself. The Breslau counselor, Christian Hoffmann (1618-1679), and the jurist, Caspar von Lohenstein (1635-1683), offer us, in their lyric—and, in part, tragic—poems, nothing but the vileness of the most vulgar amours, couched in a most labored, artificial style. And yet these two poets were warmly admired and universally read by those



*Castro ferre sequitur solus Germanus amica
 Hæmæque truces effudit ore minas
 Mulierque graves mollesq; utroque liberos
 'Impulsi et anglo hinc traxerunt, vatum.
 Non tantum in tuas complexibus horri amas
 Græuli, hyperboreæ, magis illa tenet
 Nil Martis Cytherea ferri differt amorem.
 Et Germanus suum nulli carius, vatum.*



*Cæcis amictus formæ vos gallia decorem.
 'Quem luctu, scindi est gravis nulla fons
 Ille dico struam pietas et iacula nostra
 Sæcra hinc præfata erit vis
 Festinusque fides, sacraque gravis, vatum.
 Cæcis et moris, pugna, et arte placet
 Gallia est prope non metus, vatum, frigora
 Hyman, viti, qui cœlestis præstat*

FIG. 59.—French and German costumes of the middle of the seventeenth century. Engraved by Peter de Jode (b. 1606); drawn by Sebastian Francken (1573-1647).

Germans who had not forgotten their native speech for the sake of French.

But Boileau now appeared in France. He had the merit of making the silly jingle of phrases and conceits in the pastoral and heroic romances, as well as the corresponding lyric, no longer possible. That his views took root in Germany is an evidence of real progress; yet his influence was not effective enough to call forth any poet of genuine ability.

In art, too, Germany lost all independence and originality after the Thirty Years' War, and yet, during the fearful struggle, talent of the second rank was by no means wanting. Joachim von Sandrart (1605-1688), of Frankfort-on-the-Main, a pupil of the Netherlander, Gerard Honthorst, belonged, like the latter, to the school of Caravaggio. Like his master, Sandrart sought to produce his effects chiefly through startling, brilliant lights. Akin to him was Matthäus Merian, who distinguished himself chiefly through his engravings, which, like those of his contemporary, Wenzel Hollar, are so true to nature, so full of spirit, so finely conceived, and so carefully executed as to display all the freshness of life and genuine artistic feeling. But painting could not escape the general degeneracy, and, like the people themselves, forfeited every vestige of individuality. Depending on spiritless eclecticism, on French and Italian models, it lost, in its servile imitation and dearth of ideas, even its technical ability.

This all-prevailing French taste found still more forcible expression in architecture. Every one of the German princes would have his own Versailles and Trianon. This tendency was naturalized in Berlin by the Great Elector through John Arnold Nehring, an artist, in other respects of high ability, to whom the city is indebted, among other things, for the design of its armory. But, under the sway of French absolutism, individuality became a feature as impossible in houses as in men. This is seen in the many ground-plans of residence-quarters of the period, with their long, straight, monotonously uniform streets. This is especially the case with the Friedrichstadt, a quarter of Berlin laid out by Nehring himself. Dresden was the chief seat of Frenchified architecture; Krüger's palace, for example, erected in the Great Garden, about 1680, is a Versailles in miniature. Similarly we might go over all the numberless palaces erected in the several states, large and small, every one of which is cast in the same mould of servile imitation.

In Poland, also, which always manifested so much sympathy with everything French, the same tendency won exclusive predominance in literature. Under Sobieski, the highly influential family of the Counts of Morsztyn were the gifted and unwearied representatives of French

poetical art, which almost wholly stifled out the purely national literature.

No less unconditionally did French influence dominate in the neighboring country of Holland. Here it penetrated deeper among the masses. For hundreds of years, Dutch princes and statesmen had been accustomed to speak and write French, and many French words had entered into the Dutch language. The father of Dutch poetry, Hooft (1581-1647), was, like the German Opitz, a devoted disciple of the Italian school of Tasso, which endeavored to give life to the classicism of the Renaissance by the infusion of a popular and national element. His successor, Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679), a native of Cologne, is esteemed with justice the foremost lyric poet of Holland. But he gave himself up chiefly to the drama; and here, in all that concerns freshness, naturalness, and a spirit of sympathy, he is far behind Hooft. Like Racine, he worked rather with the intellect than the fancy. Of local coloring, there is not a trace. Samson speaks like Salmonius, King of Elis; and the Chinese emperor, Sung-Chin, like the brother-princes of Batavia; and all like the high-born, cultured cavaliers of Brussels or Paris.

In art, on the contrary—that is, in the new school of Low Country painting—the Netherlanders asserted an honorable independence and a national individuality. At the epoch which we have now reached, the heroes of the art of the Low Countries had either, like Rubens and Van Dyck, died, or had, like Rembrandt and Van der Helst, become old. But a mellow ripeness had dawned for *genre*-painting. The life of the people of all classes, with their daily occupations in all their varied multiplicity, their individual peculiarities, their interests and passions, as well as the changeful game of war, find expression in little pictures, which, by their striking contrasts of light and color and by their perfect technique, charm the eye and heart. The very nature of the Dutchman of the period—bold, free, and strong—bursts upon us from these little pieces. Jan Steen, the merry taverner of Leyden, in his jovial pictures of drinking scenes, shows vividly the close and cordial relation between this style of art and the common folk. The life of the upper classes is shown by Gerard Terburg, with his wonderfully natural representation of rich garments, and Gerard Dow, who had learned from Rembrandt the use of light-effects. Metzu, Mieris, Netscher, Schalken, and many others, all testify to the busy life and fertile creative power of the Dutch people of their time. In landscape-painting also are exhibited the same fresh and ennobling conception of the subject and the same faculty for dignifying it through true

art, which had already found expression in *genre*-painting. Here the gifted Ruysdael has many scholars of merit—Hobbema, de Vries, and many others. The sea-pieces of Backhuysen, on the other hand, show us the ocean, now alluring by its sunny, smooth, or slightly ruffled surface, now terrible in its might, when lashed to fury by the raging elements.

Certainly, if the Dutch school did not attain the highest aim of art, its brisk, fresh, truthful life, condemning at once the bonds of conventionality and the lies of courts, presents a pleasing contrast to the hollowness, artificiality, and pompous servility of French art in the days of Louis XIV.

Official England, since Charles II. held his court as pensioned vassal of Versailles, was entirely fashioned on the French model. Imitation of the French mode was regarded at Whitehall as an evidence of loyalty. This tendency spread irresistibly among the educated classes and the inhabitants of the cities, partly through the example of the court and aristocracy, but not less in consequence of a not unjustifiable reaction against the gloomy and stern severities of the Puritans. In literature it found expression in Butler's "*Hudibras*," in which the Puritans are held up to merciless ridicule.

This hostility to the "saints" told especially in favor of the theatre, which they had visited with special rancor. But the old theatrical traditions of the times of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson had been broken through the long interval of years. The prevailing taste was now all for strict rule and rhetoric. The French tragic dramatists showed these qualities in the most eminent degree; little wonder, then, that the English playwrights attached themselves to their school. The father of the new English theatre, Sir William Davenant, sought in his "*Siege of Rhodes*" simply to give a reproduction of Corneille, and found therein universal applause and imitation. But it soon became evident that the English people had not forgotten the earlier and more congenial style, and John Dryden (1631-1700) was able in some measure to reproduce it in his own peculiar manner. Dryden is the most perfect type of the English society of the Restoration: finely cultured, but thoroughly characterless; sentimental, but a sensualist; ingenious, dexterous, and of fine calculation, but without depth of feeling or imagination. In his unnatural and entirely external admixture of Shaksperian and French tragedy, Dryden believed he had found the recipe for the ideal drama, and proudly dubbed it "*Heroic Tragedy*." But his affected and spectacular pieces quickly became the subject of ridicule, and Dryden gave himself entirely up to the French style.

In his lyric and epic poems, also, Dryden imitated the French, and, above all, Boileau. His lyrics and epics proper exhibit the French excellence of easy and sonorous rhymes and great correctness, but are destitute of every genuine poetic quality. The intellect predominates, not the heart and feeling. The best lyric poets, as Waller and Marvell, went over to his camp—that of French “classicism.” In tragedy, Otway (born 1652) was the complement of Dryden, and banished the last reminiscence of the Old-English stage from his pieces. Dryden, Otway, and especially Wycherley, express themselves with great coarse-



FIG. 60.—Sir Isaac Newton. After a contemporary engraving.

ness and vulgarity in their comedies, and thus reflect the manners and conversation of the English court.

Scientific investigation, as in some measure the representative of the sound-hearted and comparatively pure middle classes, went its own way, and, in the natural and philosophico-political sciences, England stood, beyond question, at the head of European nations. In 1660, the Royal Society was established. In accordance with the practical character of Englishmen, its learned members directed their attention first to the mechanical sciences. Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo had already essentially promoted these, but a mathematical and indubitable foundation

was first given them by Sir Isaac Newton (born 1643). While a professor of mathematics in Cambridge, Newton (Fig. 60) reached the conviction that the celestial bodies were retained in their orbits by the same law of gravitation by which material bodies fall to the earth. In February, 1685, he communicated his great discovery to the Royal Society, and, in 1687, published his great work, the *Principia*. Greater than the purely astronomical value of this work is its worth as bearing on the whole system of physical science. In place of the mystical mode of regarding nature, which saw in everything caprice and miracle, there came the conviction that the universe is ruled by fixed law. Newton was thus not only the immediate cause of the so-called "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century, but the founder of our modern conceptions regarding the universe. A passion for the natural sciences seized all classes. Charles II. founded the Greenwich Observatory, and John Flamsteed, the first astronomer royal, published the earliest accurate catalogue of the stars. That class of philosophers already known as "free-thinkers," or "deists," now raised their heads more confidently. This school stood in opposition to Spinoza, but, in its negative aspect, was in harmony with him.

Descartes had found an asylum in Holland, and there developed his whole philosophical system without molestation. The French philosopher sharply distinguished between the thinking substance, or mind, and matter, or the body. His disciples were thus necessarily constrained to deny any possible reciprocal action of the one on the other. The agency, therefore, that associates the mind with matter must be ascribed to God as the sole prime cause. Spirit and substance—i. e., all temporal things—are thus dependent on Him. They are only His bearers or instruments; consequently God is properly the one sole substance. With this, Arnold Geulinx (1662, 1665) brought Cartesianism to the standpoint whence Spinoza took his departure.

Baruch Spinoza (Fig. 61) was born at Amsterdam, November 24, 1632. He was descended from Portuguese Jews. An eager searcher after knowledge and truth, independent and conscientious in his thinking, he found no satisfaction in the traditional Judaism of his day, especially after he had read the stimulating writings of the Cartesians. After his irreparable breach with his fellow-Jews, he withdrew to The Hague, where he lived a life of seclusion. He declined the flattering offer of a chair in the university of Heidelberg, fearing lest his intellectual freedom might be trammelled by his acceptance. The dualism between the soul and body, which Descartes sought to establish, he completely set aside. There is but one substance—God; and thought

and extension—the spiritual and bodily world—are only *modi* or manifestations of God. All temporal things are in this one substance, and proceed from God in consequence of the everlasting necessity of His being. Freedom and will are to be found neither in man nor God, but all evolves itself out of a reasonable necessity that constitutes the very essence of God. With mathematical precision and inexorable logic, he carried out this system to its minutest details. To immerse himself with



FIG. 61.—Baruch Spinoza. After an engraving by Étienne Fessard (1714-1774).

loving zeal in the cognition of the one sole substance, in love to God—such is the aim which Spinoza proposes for mankind.

While Spinoza's teaching produced the most marked effect on English metaphysicians, the warm party-struggle in free Great Britain called forth a number of distinguished political thinkers, who developed the doctrines of political science, which had been founded by Machiavelli, Bodin, and Grotius. To Thomas Hobbes (died 1679), the revolt

of Parliament and the republicans against Charles I. brought only the conviction of the necessity of absolutism, which he sought to establish on an historical-philosophical basis. Exactly the opposite was the teaching of the inflexible republican, Algernon Sidney (executed in 1683), who, in his "*Discourses concerning Government*," argues that, if the occupant of the throne has derived his authority from the people, then this is no right inherent in him, but an office of trust; and so soon as he misuses this and violates the conditions on which it was conferred, then those who originally entrusted it to him—the people—can withdraw it from him. In Sidney, we thus find the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people darkly foreshadowed.

Spain, the oldest of all the great powers, remained in this period almost unaffected by the intellectual influence emanating from France. Though the political power of Spain had long since begun to decline, the nation was still illumined by the effulgence of the flourishing period of its literature, in which it was rather a model for other countries than an imitator of them. Calderon de la Barca's (1600-1681) poetical style became a pattern for Corneille, and through him, in many respects, for all Europe. Although honors and wealth were heaped on him by Philip IV. and his ministers, yet he never, like the court poets of France, sacrificed his intellectual independence. A true type of his nation, in his youth he fought, with distinction, in Milan and the Low Countries, and in his old age entered the priesthood; but, through all, he was true to his king and his God—at once chivalrous, loyal, proud, and bigoted. His secular dramas rank him among the greatest poets of all ages, and are true exponents of the Spanish character—moved, above all, by love and honor. But how nimble the fancy, how skilfully intricate the plots, how vigorous and dramatic the treatment! His richly filled dramatic treasure-chamber has been freely plundered by the poets of all times and all nations. The same is true of the fine character-poets, Agustin Moreto and Francisco de Roxas. To these pre-eminent names a whole group of lesser lights associate themselves.

In painting, too, Spanish genius outlived Spain's period of political greatness. Zurbaran and Velasquez, indeed, died in the early years of our epoch; but Alonso Cano flourished in it. Cano especially distinguished himself among Spanish artists by his accurate study of the antique, the correctness of his anatomy, and his tendency toward the plastic. He was head of the school of Granada. To the school of Seville belonged the greatest of Spanish masters, Bartolomé Estéban Murillo (1618-1682), who was still in the zenith of his fame in the days of Louis XIV. No one has known how to depict the life of the lower

classes of his people with such insight, truth, and force, and yet in so captivating a way, as Murillo; and no one has ever rendered, in the way he has, the fervor of devotion, the insatiate longing of the heart after the divine, the unquenchable glow of an ecstatic human soul, which bursts through and consumes its outer covering. By the side of the most glorious creations of the Italian pencil, we admire also the deep-glowing fire that shines forth from the eyes of Murillo's Madonnas, the charm of his coloring and distribution of light, the abandonment of himself to his subject, and the power and energy with which he gives expression to the life of his figures. After Murillo, only Claudio Coello (died 1693) was strong enough to maintain the renown of the Spanish school.

In the land which was pre-eminently the land of art and poetry—in Italy—Marinism, which about the middle of the seventeenth century had subdued all Europe, still ruled supreme. All Italian poets, with few exceptions, dazzled by the fame which Marini had won, followed in his footsteps. The noblest and most exalted passions and situations were rendered ridiculous by absurd figures of speech and shallow conceits. Claudio Achillini and Girolamo Preti, both of Bologna, were the most shameless apostles of this florid imbecility.

Against this intellectual bewilderment, the dry classicism of France was a wholesome reaction, and its propagation over Europe is to be regarded as a decided change for the better. Tuscany alone, in all Italy, was, through its innate correctness of taste, held back from the road to ruin. Vincenzo da Filicaja (1642–1707) was a true poet, of richest fertility of imagination and fine feeling. Besides him, Salvator Rosa, a poet as well as a painter, declared war on the affected style in his six satires, which were everywhere read with avidity. The drama had fallen into decay; comedy had become coarse and vulgar. Even the opera and ballet had, in the land of their birth, lost the creative power in music as well as in poetry. The one creative genius among Italian musicians of the period, Giovanni Battista Lully (1633–1687), had emigrated to Paris, where, as director of the Grand Opera, he inaugurated a new era in the music-drama.

The Italy of our epoch found its true fame in science, and especially in the scientific investigation of nature, a field in which it contested the first place with England. Galileo and his following had made the sciences extremely popular as a subject of study among the cultivated classes. When the little princely courts found themselves less and less able to vie with the great states in power and splendor, they sought renown in fostering intellectual interests. No ruling house distinguished itself so much in this way as that of the Medici in Florence—especially

Grand Duke Ferdinand II., who reigned till 1670. Under him, the universities of Pisa and Siena and the Florentine academies flourished as never before. The deplorable insignificance of the innumerable academies, self-decorated with high-sounding titles, induced the grand duke to found, in 1657, the *Accademia del Cimento*, for the advancement of true scholarship and science. This became the prototype for academies of science in other countries.

If South Italy and Sicily were completely shut out from the intellectual life of the peninsula by the paralyzing effects of Spanish despotism and Spanish ecclesiasticism, this flourished all the more vigorously in the centre and north. Borelli taught both in Pisa and in Ferdinand's *Accademia del Cimento*. His works, which embrace the whole field of mechanical physics, may be said to have laid the foundation of our knowledge of the muscular movements of animals. A disciple of Galileo, Giovanni Domenico Cassini of Nice (1625-1712) distinguished himself as a philosopher, poet, and theologian, but, above all, as an astronomer. To him belongs the merit of having first recognized comets as planet-like bodies with regular orbits. He determined the periods of rotation of Jupiter, Mars, and Venus, as well as of Jupiter's satellites. In 1669 he was called to Paris by Louis XIV., and without doubt he was, next to Newton, the foremost astronomer of his time. Mathematics proper found an eminent representative in the Florentine, Vincenzo Viviani, one of the last pupils of Galileo.

No less glory accrued to Italy from descriptive natural science. One of its greatest masters was Francesco Redi of Arezzo (1626-1698), even more versatile than Cassini, though probably second to him in genius. Court physician to Ferdinand II., he won world-wide renown by his minute and able physiological and anatomical investigations on the lower animals, especially through his experimental refutation of the belief that insects are generated from decaying organic matter. These are only the most illustrious among a countless host of eminent Italian investigators and thinkers. Not till the end of the seventeenth century did Italy definitely yield precedence in the natural sciences to France and England.

In art, we find only the echo of a greater past. The school of Caravaggio spread its roots especially deep in the warm soil of Naples, where its robust naturalism was in accord with the temperament of the people. Energetic representation of the passions and the terrible was the special occupation of the Neapolitan artists. Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), already mentioned as a poet, shows a more temperate spirit; his fame rests mainly on his landscapes, with their gloomy and savage scenery,

their groups of bandits and other wild figures, their shipwrecks, and the like.

On the northern lands, Italian sculpture exerted a still greater influence than Italian painting, especially through the Neapolitan, Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), who unfortunately let himself be carried away by the mania of the times for sensual stimulation and strong effects. He set the pattern for those numberless coquettish nymphs seemingly struggling in the arms of lustful ravishers—Pluto, Jupiter, or Romans; for those transfigured, ecstatic angels; and for those club-bearing athletes and combatants. With these and similar figures, the streets and squares, the churches and palaces, the bridges and courts of the expiring seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries were peopled in wildest medley.

Bernini was lord of his age, and exercised an influence unrivaled since the days of Michelangelo; for he was also an architect, and, as the edifices of Rome were crowded with his statues, so its streets were lined by his façades. He was director of buildings under six popes, producing colossal but tasteless structures in the *baroque* style. He too was called to Paris, where he executed a bust of Louis XIV.

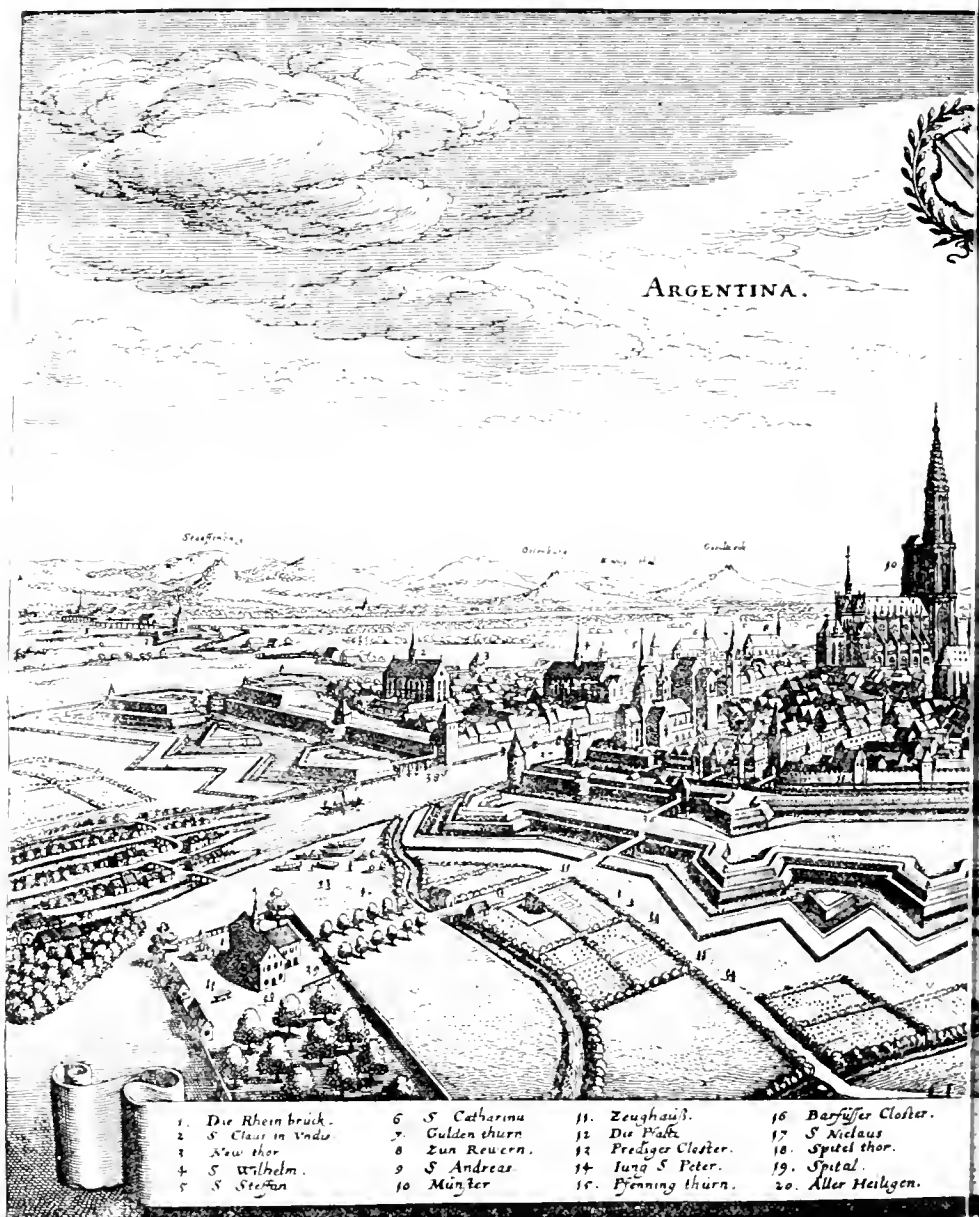
All the world recognized with dismay that Louis regarded the Peace of Nimwegen only as an armistice—a momentary resting-place on his way to new conquests. Not that Louis contemplated the reduction of the greater part of Europe under his immediate sway, but it was his purpose to make every state feel his ascendancy and to render his will decisive everywhere. His evil genius was Louvois, who always urged him to new enterprises, as unjust as they were grasping. This arrogant and coarse minister cherished a double series of plans: first, to secure a firm foothold on the Apennine peninsula, in order, on the first favorable opportunity, to drive the Spaniards out of Milan and Naples, and convert Italy into a dependency of France; and, secondly, to get possession of all the fortresses of any importance on the north and east of France, in order that she herself might be unassailable, and, at the same time, be free to sally forth at any time for an attack on her neighbors.

Savoy was the special guardian of Italy against an attack from France. But this land fell, after the death of Duke Charles Emmanuel II. in 1675, completely under French influence. During the minority of Victor Amadeus II., the regency was conducted by his mother, Marie Jeanne de Nemours, who, herself a Frenchwoman, entered into a scheme for the annexation of Savoy, Piedmont, and Nice to France. At the same time, the last-named country was negotiating with the young, dissolute, and debt-burdened Duke Charles of Mantua for the purchase of the strong fortress of Casale, the possession of which would enable France to hold

Piedmont and Milan in check. But Louvois had still another point in Upper Italy in view—namely, Genoa. This great commercial republic was under the rule of a numerous aristocracy, to which alone belonged the right of engaging in commerce on a great scale, and which sought to put itself in a position to stifle in the germ any opposition from the lower ranks of citizens, the *popolo minuto*. For years this commercial Genoese nobility had been in close relations with Spain. The French government was now eager to make Genoa dependent on France, so as to be able, in case of an Italian war, to land troops there, and to be sole lord of the Mediterranean. Therefore, under the most frivolous pretexts, Louis XIV., without declaration of war, caused the Genoese suburb of San-Pier-d'Arena, the light-house, and two forts to be bombarded (1678).

But it was on the Low Countries and West Germany that the great monarch mainly kept his eye. In the Treaty of Münster, in 1648, as well as in that of Nimwegen, the French diplomats had purposely left it an open question whether the cessions made to France should be understood in their later and narrower or in their earlier and wider sense. Louis had, however, left no grounds for doubting that he took them in the latter acceptance. Despite all the protests of the emperor and the empire, Louis had compelled the ten imperial cities of Alsace and the Alsatian knights of the empire to submit to France. Immediately upon the conclusion of the Peace of Nimwegen, Louvois and other French ministers had propounded an unheard-of theory. It was that all possessions that had ever been in the least degree dependent on the provinces ceded to France by either of the two compacts must be again united with them. The Bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were ordered to name their earlier fiefs. They declared themselves unable to do so, and asked for the erection of a special tribunal to investigate the usurpations in their dioceses. This led to the erection of the so-called "Chamber of Reunion" in the Parlement of Metz, which began its work in December, 1679. The Parlements of Besançon and Breisach were also commanded to confiscate for the crown of France whatever had at any time belonged to Franche-Comté and Alsace.

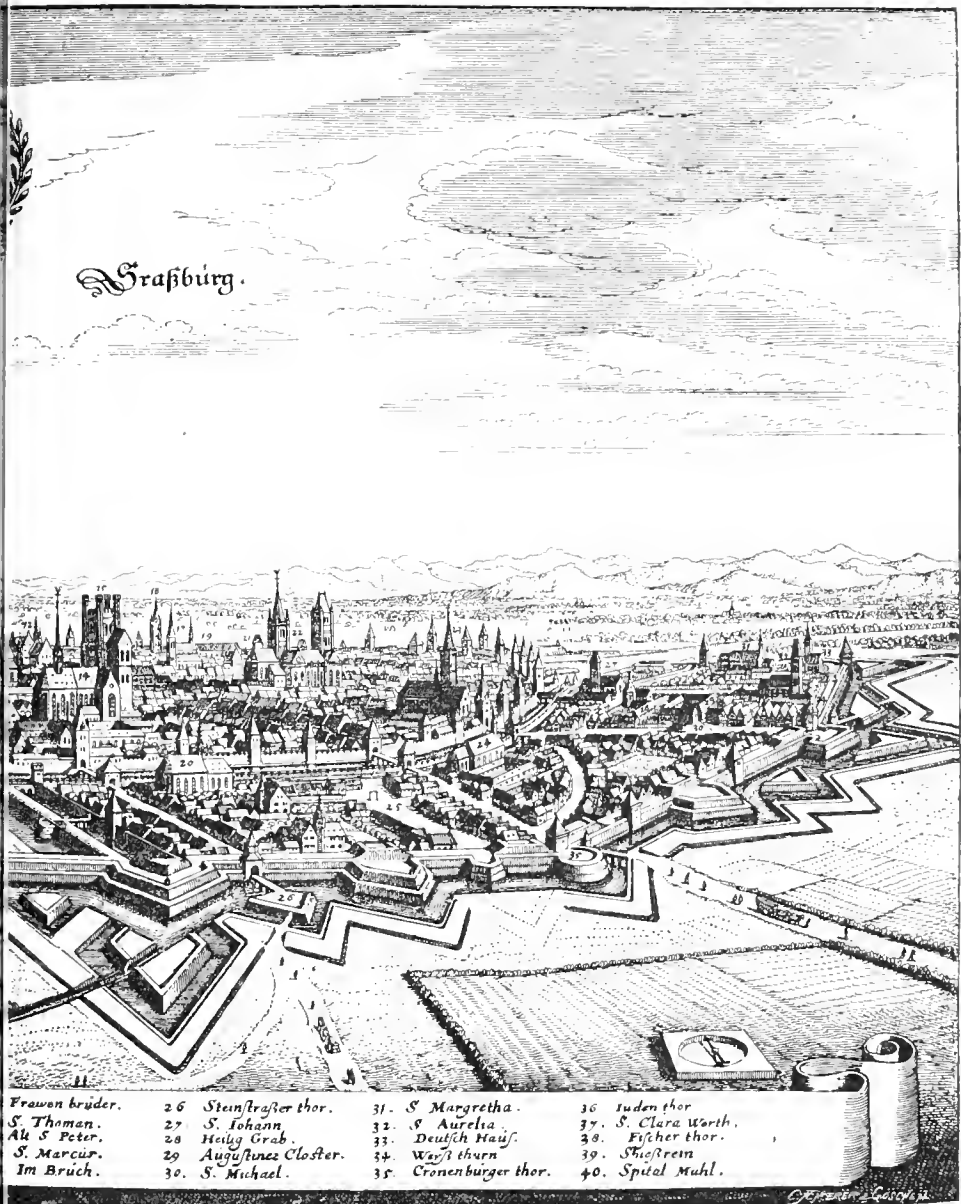
All submitted in silence, Strasburg alone holding out for a short time. French troops soon appeared in all the annexed districts, which included all the territories of the empire in Alsace, the whole county of Montbéliard, belonging to the Duke of Würtemberg, the territories of the Counts of Salm and Saarbrücken, of the Count Palatine of Veldenz and Lützelstein, and of the Duke of Zweibrücken, and the possessions of Treves in Lorraine.



View of

Reduced facsimile of copper-plate engraving by Matthaeus

Grafsbürg.



- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----------------|
| Frauen brüder. | 26 | Steintraßer thor. | 31. | S. Margretha. | 36 | Juden thor |
| S. Thoman. | 27 | S. Johann. | 32. | S. Aurelia. | 37. | S. Clara Warth. |
| Alt S. Peter. | 28 | Heilig Grab. | 33. | Deutlich Hauf. | 38. | Fischer thor. |
| S. Marcús. | 29 | Augustiner Closter. | 34. | Weyß thurn | 39. | Schießrein |
| Im Bruch. | 30. | S. Michael. | 35. | Cronenburger thor. | 40. | Spieß Muhl. |

rasburg.

Merian (1593-1650). From his "Typographia Alsatie."

On the left bank of the Upper Rhine, Strasburg alone remained to the German empire—the bulwark of Germany against France. There were two parties in the city. The mass of the *bourgeoisie*, and especially the lower classes, remained true to the empire, urged a decided anti-French policy, and wished to put the city in a state for defence. The wealthier families, on the other hand, who conducted the municipal administration, wished, above all, to protect themselves from harm. In the last war they had observed a timid neutrality, and, after the Peace of Nimwegen, they had disbanded nearly all of the city mercenaries. Under such circumstances, Louvois judged that a *coup de main* promised the best results, and waited only for a favorable opportunity. It came in the summer of 1681.

The triumphant progress of the Hungarian revolution had compelled the Emperor Leopold to summon an Hungarian diet; and this body not only rejected nearly all the prerogatives arrogated by the crown, but forced the emperor to proclaim a general amnesty. But the hoped-for results did not follow. The Porte, engaged in a war with Russia, had hitherto declined to break the Peace of Vasvar; but Louis, with the view of hindering the emperor from effectively opposing the pretensions of France, used every means to bring about a peace between the two combatants. Finally in 1681 he succeeded in his purpose, the Turks concluded a treaty with Russia, and the grand-vizier, Kara Mustapha, made up his mind to an alliance with Tököly.

With a Turkish war in view, Leopold could do nothing for the relief of Strasburg. On September 27, 1681, three regiments of French dragoons appeared before the city and cut off all connection with Germany. Two days later, Louvois appeared and demanded surrender on pain of fire and sword. The pusillanimous—and, in part, corrupted—council submitted without resistance to a capitulation exceedingly favorable to the city. On September 30 (New Style), Strasburg (PLATE XIX.) was given up to France. With feverish haste, the city was refortified under Vauban's personal direction, and, instead of being Germany's bulwark against France, became France's sally-port against Germany.

The seizure of Strasburg was not the only blow that Louis struck at the rights and freedom of Europe. After long negotiations, Duke Charles of Mantua consented, for 100,000 Spanish pistoles, to grant to the French entry into, but not the cession of, the fortress of Casale. The compact was again carried out with unworthy cunning. Brigadier-general Catinat was conducted as a prisoner of state into Pinerolo, the French frontier-fortress against Piedmont, where troops gradually assembled. Suddenly, Catinat demanded from the regent of Savoy a passage for his

little army, and appeared, armed with the warrant of Duke Charles, before Casale on September 30, 1681. Thus, at the same hour with Strasburg, the most important fortress in Upper Italy fell into the hands of France. At the same time, too, the Chamber of Remyon of Metz declared the greater part of the Belgian duchy of Luxemburg to belong to France. The strongly fortified city of Luxemburg, although not included in the terms of this declaration, was nevertheless blockaded by the French troops, on the ground that it was a menace to the French possessions.

For a time, no arm was raised against such proceedings, the very violence of which seemed to paralyze poor, peace-longing Europe. Yet Louvois and Louis had miscalculated. In thus audaciously violating the rights of all, they called forth all against themselves. If Louis had not been blinded by Caesar-like presumption, and his minister by the arrogance of success, they must have realized that a coalition, more general and formidable than that of 1673, would certainly be organized against them.

The duchy of Zweibrücken, which had been seized by France, belonged to Charles XI., King of Sweden. Furious at this act of spoliation, he broke the fifty years' league that bound his country to France, and entered into an alliance—the so-called "Association Contract"—with William III. of Orange, for the maintenance of the Peace of Nimwegen. In the spring of 1682, the emperor and many of the states of Upper Germany united in the League of Laxenburg against France; Hanover and several other North German states, as well as Sweden, promised their co-operation.

But war did not break out at once. William of Orange had, to his great sorrow, to realize that England was chained more closely than ever to France. In Germany, on the other hand, the Elector of Brandenburg declared that the time for a coalition against France was not yet come. He sought to restrain her in a different way, and, in January, 1682, concluded a treaty with Louis, by which the latter renounced all further "remions," while Brandenburg pledged its neutrality.

Tököly was compelled by his associates to do homage to the sultan and to promise him tribute—the latter, in return, recognizing him as Prince of Upper Hungary and promising him help against the emperor. The situation of the imperial court, threatened at once from the east and west, was made all the more precarious through the want of money. Happily the estates of the empire showed themselves ready to stand by the emperor, while Louis's arrogance and faithlessness brought to Leopold a new confederate. Louis had injured another true ally, John Sobieski (Fig.



FIG. 62.—The armor of John Sobieski ; worn on his entrance into Vienna. (Dresden, Royal Historical Museum.)

62) of Poland, by the alliance of France with the Turks. He broke with the French, but Leopold had to reward him and his magnates richly for so doing.

But neither German nor Polish help was at hand, when, in May, 1683, Kara Mustapha advanced from Belgrade with 230,000 men. Duke Charles of Lorraine, the imperial general, had only 33,000 soldiers at his disposal, and found it necessary to withdraw before the invaders. After the speedy capture of such Hungarian fortresses as lay on his route, Kara Mustapha advanced straight on Vienna, laying waste the land as he went. Leopold I., with all his court, fled to Linz.

Louis XIV. did not avail himself of Germany's straits for an immediate attack. The public sentiment of Europe, and even of France, withheld him. Louis's view was, that the empire in its extreme need would throw itself into the arms of France, and accordingly he offered a truce of thirty years on the basis of the *status quo* (that is, of the "reunions"). But the emperor, with a pride or temerity simply laughable, threatened France with war, when the Turks had already appeared before Vienna. Louis's answer to this braggadocio was to march thirty-five thousand men into Belgium.

The fate of Europe was bound up with that of Vienna. If this city fell, there were but two possibilities for the continent. It must become either Turkish or French. The Duke of Lorraine, on his retreat northward, had thrown 14,000 men into the city, under the brave but circumspect Count Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg. Within a few days, the count repaired the fortifications in the best manner possible, and equipped a corps of citizens and students, 8000 strong, who did excellent service. Only through ceaseless and frightful exertions and the most gallant heroism were the defenders able to hold their weak ramparts against 200,000 enemies. All seemed lost when help came.

Kara Mustapha, who conducted the siege very poorly, had not impeded the junction, some miles above Vienna, of Charles of Lorraine and his 27,000 combatants with 31,000 German troops and 26,000 Poles—the latter under Sobieski. On the morning of September 12, 1683, the allies, under the command of Charles of Lorraine, burst out from the Kahlenberg upon the Turks, who were stationed at Nussdorf and Dornbach. The Poles, who were opposed to the flower of the Turkish army, were tasked to the utmost. Meanwhile the left wing, composed of the German and Austrian troops, had gained a decisive victory, its cavalry came to the succor of the hard-pressed Sobieski, and the Turks were thrown into disorderly flight. Thus the Germans really decided the day. The whole vast camp, with a booty in gold, jewels, and munitions of

war to the value of ten million gulden, fell into the hands of the victors. The exultation in the liberated city was indescribable. Kara Mustapha was executed by the command of the sultan.

With this fight at Nussdorf, Turkey's offensive power was broken for ever. The Christian army pressed forward into Hungary, was again victorious at Parkany, and captured the important city of Gran. In the following year, Venice too joined the league against the Osmanli.

While the whole force of Austria was thus occupied in the east, Louis improved the occasion to secure his "reunions" before the Turks made peace with the Hapsburgs. His troops took Dixmude and Courtrai in Belgium, and finally, in June, 1684, Luxemburg—almost as great a gain for France as Strasburg. Only the opposition of Brandenburg restrained King Louis from pressing into Germany and chastising the allies of the emperor.

Germany, enfeebled and depopulated by the Thirty Years' War, was in no condition to fight France and Turkey single-handed. Spain was little better than a lifeless corpse; the United Provinces had, notwithstanding the efforts of the Prince of Orange, come to terms with France (June, 1684); Charles II. was her vassal. Thus the empire and Spain were ready to consent to a twenty years' truce at Ratisbon, in August, 1684, during which all the "reunions" made by France up to August 1, 1681, together with Strasburg and Luxemburg, were to be left to her, and her other conquests were to be given up.

Thus had Louis attained the objects at which he long had aimed. Yet these "reunions" proved, in the end, disastrous for the policy of France, inasmuch as they deeply embittered the greater powers and showed to all the world what it had to expect from French rapacity. The renewal of the war was regarded as inevitable—all the more so since the truce imposed no check on Louis's encroachments.

Marshal de Créquy appeared before Treves and razed its walls, so that Germany had no bulwark against Luxemburg. Another French corps under Schomberg marched into Liège, deprived the inhabitants of their liberties, and compelled them to submit unconditionally to their bishop, the Elector of Cologne, who was an ally of Louis. Victor Amadeus of Savoy was forced to marry a relative of Louis, a princess of Orleans, and to submit most abjectly to France. Genoa was punished by a bombardment of several days for its audacity in declining to deliver up its galleys and to acknowledge the suzerainty of France. At last it yielded. The doge and four senators had to appear before the great king and humbly crave for pardon and protection. In addition to all

this, the representatives of that sovereign republic were treated at Versailles with studied contempt.

While these acts were keeping all Europe in a state of excitement and dismay, Louis perpetrated a fresh act of violence in his own state, more wicked and disastrous to himself than any that had preceded it. His ideal was a compact, unified kingdom, which should look to him alone for guidance in all matters, whether secular or religious. Precisely for this reason, he hated and persecuted the Protestants who were still left in France. It was intolerable that nearly two millions of his subjects should presume to believe otherwise than the king, and should hold his religion to be false. In Louis's eyes, there was but one sin that either a subject or foreign prince could commit, but this was unpardonable—namely, that of not submitting unconditionally to his wishes, views, and caprices. From this motive, he promptly rejected plans for the reconciliation of the two churches. Even Bossuet desired that in the communion the cup should be conceded to the recanting Protestants; but Louis and his ministers would give no ear to proposals implying the recognition of the right of subjects to regard their religion as better than that of their king; therefore, for those who recanted, there was nothing left in the church on which the feeling of religious individuality or independence could lay hold.

Ever since their overthrow by Richelieu, the Protestants had been most loyal subjects, and had, in virtue of this, gained recognition from Mazarin. Louis himself, on his accession to the throne, had confirmed the Edict of Nantes, and, during the first half of his reign, Protestants distinguished themselves in every department of government. Turenne and Schomberg were his most eminent generals; Duquesne, his best admiral. Other Huguenots were illustrious in diplomacy and administration, while many, as manufacturers, seconded Colbert in his efforts for the advancement of industry and commerce. They supported their schools most liberally, as well as their three universities at Sedan, Saumur, and Montauban.

But, from the first moment of his autocratic rule, Louis showed the most decided disfavor toward them. This antipathy was fostered and heightened by the ceaseless representations of the clergy. In the very first month of his sole rule, he drove the Protestant preachers out of Paris, and issued an edict authorizing daughters of Protestants, when twelve years of age, and sons when fourteen, to profess Catholicism without the consent of their parents.

The methods by which the Protestants were to be converted were pointed out by the Jesuit Meynier in his brochures, "Concerning the

Execution of the Edict of Nantes," published in 1662. No Protestant was to receive any mark of favor or office of profit. On the other hand, such Huguenots as came over to the true church were sure of gifts in money, lucrative offices, advancement in the military service, and advantageous marriages. Nevertheless, with the exception of Turenne, scarcely any except courtiers and the scum of the Protestants allowed themselves to be thus misled.

The king was deeply incensed at the stubbornness and "contumacy" of his Calvinistic subjects, while the clergy urged persecution. The people let themselves be carried away with the stream. The government proceeded methodically. In order that no soul might escape the impending pious persecution, the Protestants were, in 1670, interdicted



FIG. 63.—Madame de Maintenon.

from leaving the country. Their churches began to be closed, and, in 1671, Louis dismissed every Huguenot from his guard.

The Peace of Nimwegen had declared Louis triumphant over all Europe. Why should he endure opposition from a handful of his subjects? The more decidedly he had confronted the pope in the matter of the right of the *régale*, so much the more eager was he to demonstrate his sound Catholicism by subduing the Protestants. No less strong were the personal influences that were brought to bear on him. Colbert,

indeed, would hear nothing of the persecution of the most useful members of the state and the best pillars of his mercantile system. But the unscrupulous Louvois opposed him, and the king's father-confessor—the Jesuit, Lachaise—was compelled by his fellow-Jesuits to perform his duties in a spirit of extreme intolerance. But the Protestants found their most formidable foe in François d'Aubigné, Madame de Maintenon (Fig. 63).

She was the granddaughter of that Agrippa d'Aubigné, who, with the pen of the historian and satirical poet, no less than with the sword and pistol, had defended his Reformed brethren in the faith. But his son Constant, the father of François, was a debauchee who brought his family into the direst misery. His daughter was born in 1635, in the citadel of Bordeaux, where the Baron Constant with his family had been shut up on account of numerous offences against individuals and the state. On regaining his liberty, he went to the Antilles, where he met an early death. Poor and unprotected, François came to relatives in Paris, who converted the eleven-year-old maiden to Catholicism. At the age of sixteen, she married the old, crippled, but witty satirist Scarron, who gained for her a position in society (1652). Beautiful, clever, and calculating, she won many admirers. After eight years, her husband died. She now lived for several years in the strictest seclusion, till Montespan, who had formerly known her, appointed her governess of the children whom she had had by the king. To Louis, her cold, self-reliant manner was at first offensive; but the skill and politic self-denial with which she filled her delicate office won her his respect. The king, therefore, became more and more intimate with the widow Scarron, and her intellectual conversation at length gained her the love of the long-resisting monarch. As early as 1671, it was said that she ruled the state. The large gifts made to her by the king and other means enabled her, in 1674, to purchase the marquisate of Maintenon. Finally Madame de Maintenon plotted the dethronement of the already jealous Montespan. She knew that, now that he had exhausted the pleasures of life, the king's ordinary mood was one of earnest thought, and that he lived in constant dread of death and of retribution in the hereafter. Madame de Maintenon knew how to avail herself of these traits by first rousing his conscience and making him anxious and nervous, and then, as a father-confessor, showing him the way to heaven. The king at once so loved and feared her that she was emboldened, in the name of morality, to demand the dismissal of her benefactress. After the brief sway of Fontanges (see page 194), Louis, in 1680, fell completely into the power of Maintenon. In consequence of her influence, he entered into closer

relations with the queen, the last two years of whose life were thus made brighter and happier. On the death of Maria Theresa in July, 1683, Maintenon rose to a position infinitely higher than that reached by any earlier favorite, and availed herself of it to set before Louis the choice either of parting with her or of making her his wife. In January, 1684, their marriage was celebrated in the presence of a few witnesses. From that time on the ministerial councils were held in her chamber, while she sat at one side and turned her spinning-wheel, communicating at times her proposals, which were usually accepted by the aging monarch.

Scarcely had she attained this predominance when she allied herself with Louvois for the persecution of the Protestants. Cold and rigorous to herself, she was equally hard toward others. In 1680, on the fall of Fontanges, the mixed chambers of Catholics and Protestants in the Parlements—commissions for deciding on the suits and offences of Huguenots—were abolished. Conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism and marriages between Catholics and Protestants were forbidden. Children of Protestants were authorized to embrace Catholicism at the age of seven, against the will of their parents, and accordingly thousands of children were torn from their parents and brought up as Catholics. Maintenon herself, from 1680, set a horrible example by showing the coldest apathy toward her own Protestant relatives thus despoiled of their dearest.

Ever heavier fell the blows on the Huguenots. They were shut out from all dignities, offices, and pensions, even from farming the taxes. If this exclusion struck particularly at the more eminent and rich families, the *bourgeoisie* in their turn were driven nearly to despair by another edict, which made the right of following a trade dependent on the profession of Catholicism. In many provinces the Protestant churches were closed or destroyed.

The Huguenots met all this maltreatment with the most patient and dignified bearing. The cases of cowardly conversion were easy to count, and the Catholic zealots recognized that this course could have little success. Then, again, the martyrdom of the Protestants often awoke a feeling of sympathy among the Catholic population, and the persecutors hesitated to incur the risk of this feeling penetrating into the court. Means must be devised for rousing the Protestants to resistance.

In July, 1683, the Protestant deputies of Languedoc and Dauphiny ventured so far as again to worship amid the ruins of their destroyed churches, and there even to sign a petition to the king for their restoration. The Duke of Noailles, governor of Languedoc, promptly decided

to make use of this as a pretext for the introduction of cruel scenes of blood. On the plea that the Protestants meditated insurrection, the assemblies of the Reformed were attacked all over the south and south-east. These armed themselves in defence, and blood flowed. Many regiments were dispatched to the south, and the judicial execution of Protestants alternated with general massacres. The confiscated properties of the church were destined by the king, not to pious or benevolent uses, but to gratifying his favorites and ministers, or the nobles ruined by the prodigality encouraged by him. A law was passed that the children of Protestants must be baptized within twenty-four hours after their birth.

Through these outrages, Louvois and his *intendants* did manage to move not a few weak hearts to conversion; but the great mass of Protestants stood firm. But the Catholics had another means in reserve. After the example of Marillac, *intendant* of Poitou, Foucault, the *intendant* of the once entirely Protestant province of Béarn, adopted a twofold expedient. First, he closed the alleged over-numerous churches, and drove the whole Calvinistic clergy, as promoters of sedition, out of the land; then he quartered soldiers, preferably dragoons, in great numbers on the Protestants, who were fully given over to the mercies of these unwelcome guests. Thousands rescued themselves by a pretended conversion. Foucault, however, in his avidity for favor at court, exaggerated the success of his "dragonades," in maintaining that, of the 22,000 Protestants of Béarn, only 1000 clung to their heretical errors.

The governors and *intendants* of Guienne, Languedoc, and other provinces zealously followed Foucault's example. The conversions effected through the influence of Bossuet's polemical writings and the gentle persuasion of the dragonades were falsely reported to amount to hundreds of thousands. But in reality whole cities submitted, which once were famed for the steadfastness of their Protestantism—such as Nîmes, Montpellier, and La Rochelle. A regiment of cuirassiers marched into Rouen, and, in a few days, of 600 Huguenot families, only five were not converted.

The despotic clerical court-party was jubilant over the astonishing results of the dragonades. They represented to the king that by far the greater and better part of the Protestants was already converted, and that the stiff-necked remainder would follow, if the king would expressly declare that he would tolerate no religion but the Catholic in his kingdom. Louis had some scruples on the point of legality, but the jurists and theologians removed these. On October 22, 1685, the Parlement of Paris registered the royal law revoking the Edict of Nantes,

and in its stead decreeing a whole series of persecuting measures against Protestantism.

The practice of this religion was completely forbidden. The churches were to be destroyed without exception, and religious assemblages, even in private houses, were not to be tolerated. All Protestant ministers were banished on pain of life and limb, but emigration for other Protestants was forbidden on the same penalties. Already all the frontiers were closely watched, for Louis and Louvois were by no means inclined to lose the great amount of intelligence and property that was the possession of the Protestants.

The aim in this interdiction of all religious exercises was to make it sure that in the future all children born of Protestant parents should belong to the Catholic church. To the existing Protestants, their personal confession seemed, at least, to be granted. The Catholic zealots among the governors and *intendants* demurred to this toleration, and complained to Louvois, who answered them that they might try their powers of persuasion at their pleasure. New dragonades were imposed upon the remainder of the Protestants, who were more obstinate than the mass of their brethren. Three companies of soldiers, free to act as they pleased, were sometimes quartered in the house of a Huguenot of position. In Orange, Count Tessé threatened that, if one inhabitant remained unconverted, that one should bear the cost of all the soldiers in the place.

The brutalities of the soldiers were incredible. The Protestants were clubbed, stabbed, roasted over a slow fire, had their nails torn out, and were robbed of their sleep for many days and nights. The atrocities perpetrated on women, married and unmarried, baffle description. Ultimately whole families were driven, without a rag of covering, into the streets, and it was forbidden on pain of severe punishment to give shelter to the "rebels." The Reformed preachers who were caught and the captured fugitives were sent to the galleys for life. The women perished away in the most hideous prisons.

New terrors came in December, 1685. Every child from five to sixteen years of age was to be torn from his Reformed parents. In this child-hunt, Bossuet, the champion of Gallican liberties, especially distinguished himself. Convents were erected for the newly-converted maidens. Resistance on the part of the children was punished with imprisonment or a public whipping. Two hundred penal edicts were issued against the Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

It must be acknowledged that these inhuman measures did not remain without result. The majority of the Huguenots outwardly recanted,

and were left in peace. The authorities knew that their descendants were won for all time. But some two hundred thousand Huguenots— notwithstanding all precautions—saved their consciences by flight. Occasionally pitched battles ensued between bands of Huguenots and the royal troops, in which the latter were not always victorious.

The penalties became more and more severe. Everyone who guided and assisted a fugitive had to accompany him to the galleys. Ultimately the punishment of death was denounced on emigrants. But nothing was of avail. The courage, the adroitness, and the bribes of the persecuted were stronger than laws, police, and military. The Brandenburg ambassador in Paris promised the Huguenots protection and a cordial reception. Four thousand of them escaped to Geneva, many thousands more to Zurich and Bern. Holland, so long the asylum for all exiles, received countless fugitives. Even in England the Catholic King James II. had to permit large collections of money to be made for the refugees. Sixteen thousand Huguenots found the promised welcome reception in little Brandenburg, and others in the Hohenzollern principalities in Franconia, Ansbach and Bayreuth. The same reception awaited them in the other Protestant states. Everywhere they were free to have their own communities, in which the preaching was in French, and justice was administered according to the French code. The loss to France was immeasurable. It was precisely the *élite* of the French Protestants—the men who, through culture, property, abilities, and character, constituted the flower of France—who were able to make their way into foreign lands. The refugees brought to their new homes their intelligence, their energy, their industrial capacity, a part of their wealth, and their stern hatred for Louis XIV.

The woes that Louis had inflicted on France his boundless arrogance was to bring upon neighboring lands. In the valleys of the Cottian and Maritime Alps there continued to live some thousands of Waldensians, a poor, small, childishly pious sect, who clung to the faith of their fathers with truest devotion, but otherwise were loyal to their prince, the Duke of Savoy. At the command of Louis, the duke had to consent to the introduction of dragonades into these peaceful valleys, and to the co-operation of French troops with his own. The barbarities practiced there by inhuman soldiers transcended all that had gone before.

As Louis extended his persecutions beyond the borders of his own land, so he did not exempt from them the foreigners, who, trusting to the peace, had settled in France. In vain did the Dutch remonstrate in favor of their countrymen dwelling in his land. To foreign as to native Huguenots, there remained only the choice of conversion or flight.

Despite the protests of ambassadors, the cemetery of the non-Catholic aliens in Paris was, in crying violation of the laws of nations, shamefully desecrated and laid waste.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the greatest mistake that Louis ever committed. It was, for the future, impossible for a Protestant prince to ally himself with Louis XIV. There was no pulpit from which denunciations were not thundered against France and its monarch. Neither Sweden nor Denmark, Brunswick nor Saxony, could longer think of a French alliance. Nor could the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, especially Zurich and Bern, be longer induced to place soldiers at his disposal.

But the Catholic powers were scarcely less embittered against Louis than the Protestant. Men recognized that the persecution had its origin in no true feeling for the church, but in the same domineering, intolerant, and presumptuous spirit of despotism from which the pope himself had so severely suffered. Pope Innocent XI. looked on Louis of France as the worst enemy of the church. The dragonades he in no way countenanced. And in the same way the imperial diplomacy denounced proceedings which it recognized as purely political.

But, in spite of all this hatred and opposition, Louis went on his way unmoved and contemptuous, believing that, so long as he had England at his command, he was strong enough to withstand the continent of Europe. Precisely at this moment, this indispensable ally failed him. Thus the doom of his system was sealed and the liberation of Europe ensured.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS AND THE SECOND COALITION AGAINST FRANCE.

THE hopes of the English people for a truly national government under the rule of the legitimate house of Stuart were completely disappointed by Charles II. This monarch had regarded his high and responsible office purely from a personal standpoint, and as the best means for enabling him to lead an enjoyable and licentious life. That he had duties toward the state and toward the people never suggested itself to this thoughtless and unscrupulous man, who construed the theory of kingship by the grace of God quite in his own sense. But, notwithstanding all the jubilations of loyalty and all royalist protestations, the Revolution and the Civil War had diminished the authority of and respect for the crown, and had imbued everyone with the conviction of the superior power of the people's representatives.

A ruler who devoted himself to his duties with honest zeal, and defended a moderate Protestantism at home, while pursuing an energetic policy abroad, might have been able, like Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, to elevate the monarchy to the position of true representative and guide of the nation. A Charles II. would do the very reverse. His voluptuous prodigality stood in striking contrast to the misery consequent on the frightful plague of 1665, the no less terrible fire of London in 1666, and the rapid depreciation in the value of land in consequence of foreign competition. The most zealous adherents of episcopacy and the royal supremacy quivered with rage when Charles, to obtain money for his pleasures, sold Dunkirk—Cromwell's glorious acquisition—to France.

But what alarmed his subjects more than the rapid decadence of England's greatness and fame, was the step taken by the king in the direction of favoring and advancing Catholicism. Already the Lower House had twice overturned the ministry—that of Clarendon in 1667 and the Cabal in 1674—but Charles persevered with the measures which abased England in the present and threatened the national religion in the future. As he had no legitimate children, the heir presumptive to the throne was his brother James, Duke of York, who had openly gone over to Catholicism and had besides married a Catholic princess of a

house entirely devoted to France—that of Modena. By his first marriage (which was with a Protestant) James had only daughters; if his second wife should bear him a son, the kingdom would be delivered over to Catholicism for generations. Dark rumors in regard to Charles's compacts with Louis heightened the general excitement. This increased to a frenzy, when a worthless fellow, named Titus Oates, in the hope of winning position and wealth, gave information about an alleged "popish plot," whose object was the murder of the king and the most zealous Protestant members of Parliament and the subjugation of England to Catholicism. The people became thoroughly alarmed, and a great number of innocent Catholics were executed. The prime minister, Danby, a weak but honorable man, who had opposed the scandalous dealings of the king with France, was impeached by the Lower House—at the instigation of Louis—before the Lords for these very dealings (1678). Charles repeatedly dissolved Parliament, but the new elections returned majorities most hostile to the government. In vain did Charles endeavor to cast oil on the waters by accepting, in May, 1679, the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which grants to every Englishman who has been arrested the right of being arraigned within a limited time before a legal tribunal, and, except in the case of great crimes, of being released on bail.

The second new election (1680) again gave a majority for the exclusion of non-Protestant princes from the succession. The supporters of the Exclusion Bill were called Whigs (a derisive name for the Scotch Covenanters); its opponents, Tories, after a class of Catholic Irish marauders. In the Lower House the Whigs were numerous enough to carry the bill, which excluded James of York from the throne. Charles now roused himself from his wonted apathy and brought all his influence to bear upon the Lords. This body threw out the bill. The refractory Commons were twice dissolved. In 1681, Charles resolved to resort to a course sanctioned by the constitution, and for the next three years ruled without a Parliament.

The king had, with true instinct, recognized the trend of the public temper. The revolutionary measures of the Whigs, as well as their scandalous persecution of the Catholics, had gradually alienated from them the sympathies of the thoughtful and law-abiding English people. A constantly growing reaction set in in favor of Charles and against the Whigs, and the government, supported by the influence of the vindictive York, determined to avail itself of the change in public sentiment. Under pretexts of all kinds the charters of many towns were canceled and others substituted for them, which ensured the government a strong influence over the local administration and the elections of members of Parliament.

In this desperate conjuncture some of the Whig leaders, among others the universally respected Lord Russell, the gifted Algernon Sidney, and, ultimately, the Duke of Monmouth, the king's illegitimate son, took steps toward an armed rising of their party. A number of persons of the lower class went still further. They entered into a conspiracy for the murder of the king and his brother of York when they passed the Rye House on their return from Newmarket. The discovery of this plot involved the destruction of the more distinguished of the other conspirators, who really had no connection with it. Lord Russell and Sidney were executed, and Monmouth banished from the kingdom. Lord Essex committed suicide in the Tower.

The king now advanced to daring violations of the constitution. Even after the expiration of three years he did not summon a Parliament. In defiance of the provisions of the Test Act he created his Catholic brother a member of the privy council and high admiral. But in the midst of his triumphs he died, in February, 1685. At his own desire extreme unction was administered to him by a Catholic priest, a fact that sufficiently shows the faith in which he really believed.

The moment had now arrived to which nearly all Englishmen had looked forward with solicitude. A Catholic, in the person of James II. (Fig. 64), mounted the throne. He began his reign, indeed, with the assurance that neither the rights of his people nor those of the English church should be restricted in any degree. But his real views were very different. In his opinion, all evils arose from the insubordination of subjects and the weakness of their rulers, and he held to the principle of unlimited authority in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters, or, in other words, to Roman Catholicism and absolute monarchy. To naturalize both in England became his one aim.

Now a conflict began which was to have the highest import for the future, not only of England, but of the whole world. Its outcome was to be the triumph or discomfiture of Roman Catholicism. To ensure its triumph, James needed the help of Louis XIV.

Parliament, which was forthwith summoned to grant the king supplies, having been elected under the influence of his first declarations, comprised a great Tory majority. The king thought that their assent to the emancipation of the Catholics was most quickly to be won by a rigorous persecution of the non-Anglican Protestants—the so-called Non-conformists. Thus there began, especially in Scotland, the most cruel maltreatment of the Presbyterians, of exactly the same sort as the contemporaneous dragonades in France. But the intolerant



FIG. 64. James II. of England. A reduced facsimile of a copper-engraving by J. Audran (1667-1756); original painting by Adriaan van der Werff (1659-1722).

Tories were by no means satisfied with persecuting the Puritans. They called on James to enforce the laws against all non-Anglicans.

The king was for a time spared the inevitable conflict with the Tories by a premature attempt of the English and Scotch Whig refugees in Holland, who thought that James was so hated that it would be easy to dethrone him. But the people were as yet by no means embittered enough to take any part in this rising. The Earl of Argyle, who landed in Scotland, was quickly overpowered and executed. Monmouth, who maintained that his mother had been married to Charles II., and that he, therefore, was the legitimate heir to the crown, was defeated by the royal troops at Sedgemoor and himself taken prisoner. James had his nephew brought before him and then caused him to be executed in cold blood. The popular horror was still further increased through the king's merciless persecution of the Whigs in the counties through which Monmouth had passed. His brutal chief justice, Sir George Jeffreys, in his notorious "bloody assizes," condemned 320 persons—among them many women—to death.

These barbarous proceedings engendered deep disaffection toward the king. Parliament, alarmed at the contemporaneous persecution of the Protestants in France, voted only the most meagre supplies and demanded the dismissal of all Catholic officers—a demand promptly rejected by James, who proceeded to remove all the members of the opposition from whatever offices of state they chanced to hold. The conflict between the king and the Tory majority had begun. The former sought, indeed, to win over the persecuted Non-conformists. First, toleration was proclaimed in Scotland; then, in April, 1687, the so-called "Declaration of Indulgence" was promulgated in England. This, in virtue of the king's plenary power, granted a dispensation from all laws imposing penalties or disabilities on account of religion. But the vast majority of Protestant dissenters were not thus to be won over. They preferred to make common cause with the Anglican church, which had persecuted them less than the king.

All the more exclusively did the king—in open violation of the Test Act—confer the offices in the administration and the army, and even some in the Anglican church, on Catholics. In defiance of the laws he formed an ecclesiastical tribunal, which was practically a revival of the Court of High Commission, with discretionary powers of removing all conscientious Protestant clergymen. Even the universities, which had hitherto preached passive obedience to absolute monarchy, saw their teachers and fellows expelled and replaced by Catholics and, in some cases, even by monks. Among other religious orders the hated Jesuits once more

emerged into view in England, and James selected one of them—the fanatic Petre—for his father-confessor. An ambassador of the English king was sent to Rome, and a papal nuncio appeared in England. All judges and officials who protested against these illegal proceedings were deprived of their offices. In Ireland, James thought to secure a stronghold for his plans, and appointed the Earl of Tyrconnel, an Irish Catholic, as lord lieutenant. This man reorganized the country in a Romish-Celtic spirit.

The king, in April, 1688, reissued his Declaration of Indulgence, with the addition that it was to be read on two consecutive Sundays from every pulpit in England. The English clergy were not prepared to read out their own death-warrant. Seven bishops, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, presented a petition against the order, which, indeed, was obeyed in very few places. James was furious at the resistance of a body hitherto so docile, and caused the bishops to be arrested and brought to trial for offering the petition, which he regarded as a seditious libel.

All parties now united in opposition to the monarch. Hitherto, men had hoped for a Protestant successor to James in the person of his daughter Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange; but now these hopes seemed blasted by the birth of a legitimate son, whom the opponents of the king did not hesitate to call a supposititious child. Thoughtful Catholics, in and out of England, even Pope Innocent XI. himself, reproached James for his course. Carefully as the jury had been packed, under the irresistible pressure of public opinion, it acquitted the seven arraigned bishops. London was wild with exultation, and the entire nation—except a few clerical zealots—was as one man in its antagonism to the king.

But James, now that Heaven had granted him an orthodox heir, believed himself more than ever bound to leave behind him an absolute monarchy. To this end he devoted himself more zealously than ever before. The unreliable English soldiers were to be gradually disbanded and replaced by Irish recruits, whom the English hated as the enemies of their race.

This regime had now become intolerable, and in July, 1688, the noble leaders of the Tory and Whig parties united in a written invitation to William of Orange to land, with a body of troops, in England, for the rescue of the constitution and the faith. William was disposed to comply with their wishes, and his wife, who preferred the interests of Protestantism to those of her father, was of the same mind.

Many difficulties stood in William's way, but his adversaries them-

selves took pains to remove them. Louis XIV. had regarded the compact of Ratisbon (August, 1684) only as a starting-point for new encroachments, and had conducted himself as full and permanent sovereign in territories which had been made over to him only temporarily and conditionally. Louvois's insatiable lust of conquest urged him on to still more unjustifiable aggressions. In May, 1685, the last Elector of the Palatinate of the house of Simmern died, his successor being a member of the collateral line of Pfalz-Neuburg. Immediately Louis, in the name of his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, who was the sister of the deceased prince, brought forward a claim for a considerable portion of the Rhine Palatinate. This aroused the greatest indignation all over Germany. Frederick William of Brandenburg saw in this the dawn of better days for Germany, and, giving up his connection with France, entered into a close alliance with the emperor. The example of Brandenburg was followed everywhere; even Bavaria, which had hitherto adhered so closely to France, went with the stream. On July 10, 1686, the leading German princes, as well as Spain and Sweden for their possessions in the empire, formed a league at Augsburg against every violator of the public peace and of the existing treaties.

The French king burned to avenge this "insult." He declared, derisively, that he was menaced by the League of Augsburg, and erected fortifications in the midst of German territory. At the same time, by an agreement with the Porte, he shut out Holland from the Turkish trade, and caused his fleet to appear before Cadiz with the threat that he would treat this great port as he had treated Genoa, unless France received special advantages from Spain in regard to customs-duties.

The exasperation against France became everywhere more intense. The Protestant princes eagerly promised aid to William of Orange against Louis's English protégé. The Dutch aristocracy, indeed, did not care to break openly with the Kings of France and England, but they allowed William's military and naval preparations to go on unimpeded.

The French monarch was very willing that Holland should embroil herself in a war with England, in order that he might be able to fall on Germany unmolested and by rapid and severe blows compel her to make an ignominious peace and to leave the Turks alone. These good allies of the Most Christian King found themselves at this time in a very unfavorable position. The imperial and German troops under Charles of Lorraine had, during the years 1685-87, reconquered the whole of Hungary, with its capital Buda, as well as Slavonia and Transylvania, and decisively defeated the Turkish army, in August, 1687, at Mohács.

Further than this Louis would not let matters be carried. The Turks must remain as a perpetual menace to the imperial states. Louvois hurried into a war that he expected to finish in one short campaign. Besides the affair of the Palatinate, another pretext for war was found.

In January, 1688, the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne died. Louis worked eagerly for the election of the late elector's canon and coadjutor, Cardinal William of Fürstenberg, Bishop of Strasburg, to the vacant see. In opposition to him the emperor favored the candidacy of Joseph Clement, the younger brother of the Elector of Bavaria. At the election (July 19, 1688) Fürstenberg had only a bare majority of the chapter; but, as he already held another bishopric, he needed a two-thirds vote. As neither had received votes enough to elect, the decision lay with the pope. Innocent XI., glad to repay Louis for the many wrongs which he had suffered from him, decided in favor of Joseph Clement.

Louis professed to feel deeply aggrieved at this result, declared war on the pope, occupied the county of Avignon, a papal *enclave* in the midst of French territory, and marched his troops into the electorate of Cologne, where he delivered to Fürstenberg, in his character of coadjutor, the fortresses of Bonn, Neuss, and Kaiserswerth. Another French host crossed the Rhine without any previous announcement on September 25, 1688, and began the siege of the imperial fortress of Philippsburg.

A cry of indignation at these new outrages resounded through all Europe. The Dutch, especially, could not consent to the French establishing themselves on their most vulnerable border. James II. of England had pronounced loudly and emphatically in favor of Fürstenberg, and therefore appeared in the light of an abettor of the French oppressor.

In the latter part of September, 1688, William of Orange received the consent of the States-General to his English expedition; and, on November 12, he finally set sail with a fleet of 600 transports and 50 men-of-war. His wish was to avoid the English squadron, in order that no painful impression might be made in England by an engagement between the two fleets. He landed at Torbay, on the south coast of Britain, without a conflict. At Exeter he published a declaration, which had been issued a month earlier in Holland, that his only object in landing was the maintenance of the liberties of England and the redress of her grievances.

James had no reason to despair, for to William's 14,000 men he could oppose 40,000 regular soldiers. But he at once lost his head. Instead of instantly attacking his adversary and overwhelming him, he made concessions that gained him no support, and only convinced the

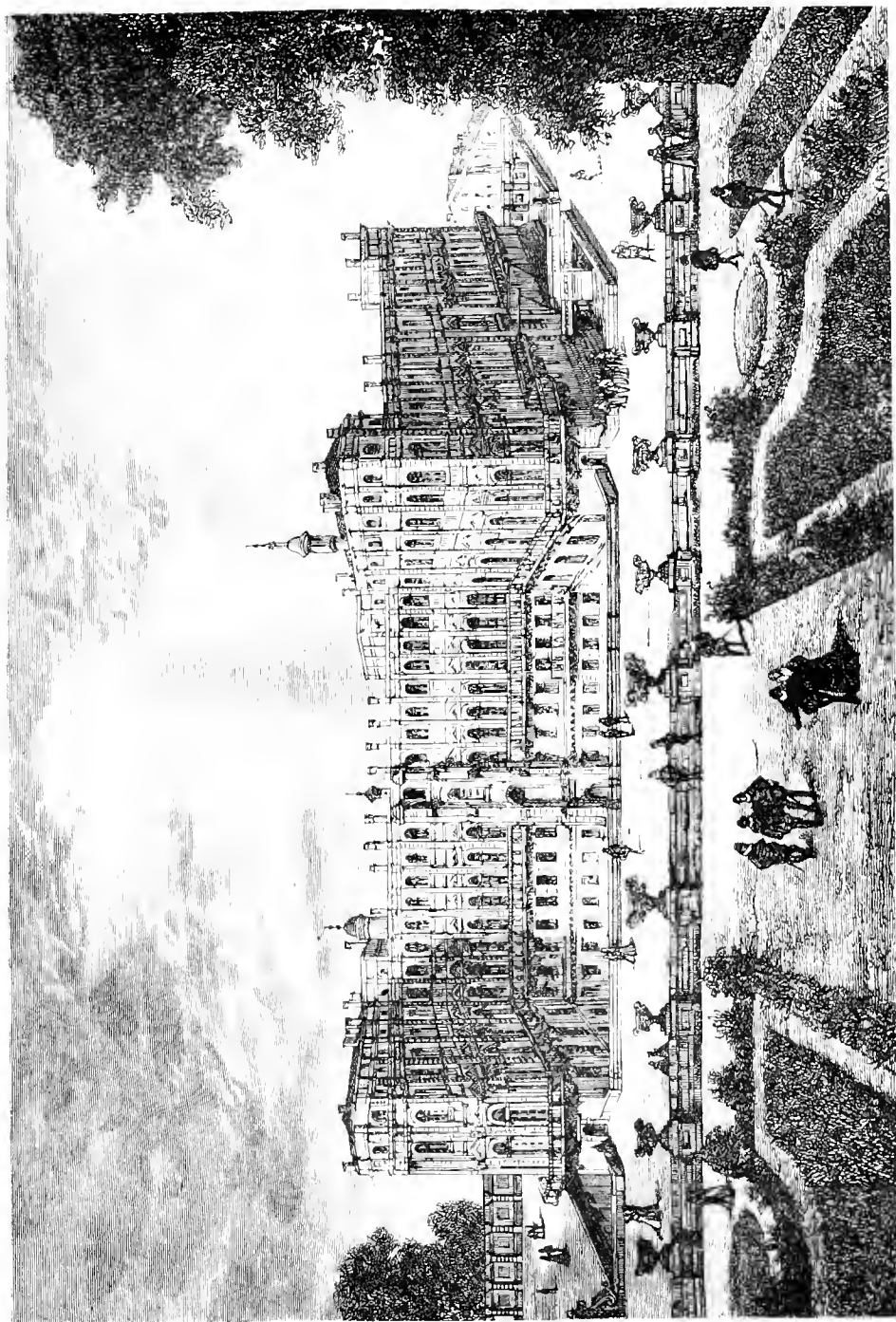
world of his weakness and cowardice. At first William saw, to his wonder and disappointment, that the people held aloof from him ; but, while the king lost time through hesitation and timidity, his English enemies took courage and entered the camp of Orange in ever increasing numbers. Desertions from James now became general—lords, superior officers, and, finally, James's own younger daughter Anne, with her husband, Prince George of Denmark, went over to William.

All was now lost for James, and he preferred to wait in safety for better times. Toward the end of December, 1688, he fled to France, where he and his family met with a brilliant and most friendly reception from Louis XIV., and the palace of St.-Germain-en-Laye was placed at their disposal (PLATE XX.). Louis intended to make use of the Stuarts against England, as opportunity offered, and had, therefore, privately commanded his officers on no account to permit them to depart.

For the second time—and, this time, finally—the rule of the direct line of the house of Stuart was overthrown in Great Britain, and the victory of liberty over absolute monarchy ensured. There were, however, no symptoms of a bloody reaction against their vanquished oppressors, none of demagogic radicalism. Peacefully and with sober-minded resolution the leaders of the English people went forward with their work of improving the great victory for the confirmation of the nation's freedom. Such was the "Glorious Revolution."

At the request of the Lords and of those who had sat in the House of Commons in the reign of Charles II., William issued writs for the election of a convention. This body declared that James, by his flight, had abdicated the government and that the throne was vacant. A "Declaration of Rights," asserting the rights and liberties of the nation, was drawn up and presented to William and Mary as embodying the conditions under which they were declared King and Queen of England. On February 23, 1689, both accepted the crown on the terms stipulated, and, for the first time in England, the monarchy was made subordinate to and dependent on the people, and the highest and really determinative authority in the state transferred from the crown to the people's representatives. This constitution was matured in its fullness only during the course of the eighteenth century, but its point of departure was the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. The English parliamentary system gradually became a pattern for nearly all the nations of the continent, and, from this fact, this revolution had an importance not merely for England but for the future of the world.

But the Revolution had a more immediate effect on the international relations of the states of continental Europe. With the accession of



Palace of St. Germain.

William, England finally took her place among the adversaries of Louis and was won for the cause of freedom, whose ultimate victory may be said to have been thus ensured. In Vienna, in Madrid, and even in Rome, there was rejoicing at the success of the English Revolution. Toward his Catholic subjects William showed a toleration that won the admiration of their foreign brethren. In foreign affairs the Revolution bore the expected fruit. In the following year an alliance was formed between England, Holland, and the emperor, the object being a return to the conditions of the Peace of Westphalia and that of the Pyrenees. In the spring of 1689, the two former states declared war on the King of France, as Spain and the emperor had already done. Louis had no longer isolated states, but all Europe, in arms against him.

But it was no light task to which the allies had addressed themselves, for the firmly united and admirably organized power of France had inflicted heavy losses on them before they had roused themselves for the common defence. All the fortresses of the Rhine Palatinate, as well as Philippsburg, were taken by her. The strong city of Mayence—the bulwark of the Middle Rhine—had been given over by its elector to Marshal Boufflers without firing a shot. The Elector of Treves yielded his capital in hot haste to the enemy. With the exception of Cologne and Coblenz, France held the Rhine from Basel to Wesel, and also the Neckar.

But the emperor failed to do his part. Instead of forthwith concluding peace with the Porte and directing all his forces against his more formidable western enemy, as his allies urged, he preferred to achieve easy conquests on the Danube and to leave the princes of the empire, with the English and Dutch, to confront the French. His selfish blindness was all the more perilous, because Louvois, conscious of the dangers that his outrageous attack on the Palatinate had invoked on France, was straining every nerve to meet them, and had recourse to means never employed before. Fifty thousand militia-men were called out; the nobles had to serve on horseback, as in the Middle Ages; letters of marque were issued against the shipping of England and Holland, and Jean Bart of Dunkirk speedily became the type of many legalized pirates. New venal offices were created, and the large cities had to vote patriotic “benevolences.”

But Louvois was forced to the conviction that his latest seizures could not be maintained in the face of the formidable coalition, and he determined to revenge himself, for this retreat, on the defenceless inhabitants. He was still more merciless to the Palatinate than he had previously been to Holland, devastating it in every way, to prevent his

opponents from establishing themselves there—and this, too, on the express command of Louis. The magnificent castle of Heidelberg was undermined and blown up, and the city itself set on fire in all quarters. Every village and town between Heidelberg and Mannheim was razed to the ground. No better was the fate of Oppenheim, Spire, and Worms. The roads were broken up and the bridges destroyed, while the natives were driven forth, without shelter or resources, in the midst of winter.

It is some consolation that the crime did not inure to the benefit of the perpetrator. The French army was no longer what it had been ten years before. The works on the channel of the Eure had destroyed the best regiments. The incendiaries of the Palatinate were, notwithstanding their numbers, in no condition to withstand the armies of the coalition. To keep these enemies away from the French frontiers, Louis ordered his own eastern provinces to be laid waste and interdicted the planting of crops. Meanwhile the allies were constantly advancing. Six thousand Brandenburg troops occupied the bishopric of Liège; twenty thousand others, supported by the allied troops, defeated the French general, Sourdis, at Neuss, in March, 1689; all the fortresses in the electorate of Cologne were retaken, including Bonn. The traitor Fürstenberg lost his electorate, and took refuge in France.

Similar success attended the allies in the adjoining Netherlands. Frederick of Waldeck, at the head of an Anglo-Dutch army, defeated Marshal de Humières in August, 1689, at Valcourt, and compelled him to evacuate Belgium. Meanwhile the imperial general, Elector Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria, had cleared the Palatinate of French hordes, and recovered Mayence. These successes were used by the emperor to wrest from the electors the choice of his son Joseph, a boy of twelve, as King of the Romans (January, 1690). Things went no better for France on the Pyrenean frontier, where the Duke of Noailles was driven out of Spain. Success so general opened to the allies the prospect of chastising Louis in the following year in his own territories.

This hope seemed all the better grounded as deep disaffection began to manifest itself in his kingdom. The French nation had forgiven Louis everything so long as he had been victorious, but now, in the moment of defeat, the hatred for the ruling classes, which lay in the hearts of the common people, threatened to become dangerous. Even Louis himself regarded the prospect with great anxiety. As a matter of course, the king cast the blame for the evil condition of affairs upon his servants, and especially upon Louvois.

But the glorious monarchy of Louis XIV. was not to be so easily

overthrown. The statesmen of France managed most dexterously to hamper their enemies in the extreme southeast and northwest. In the former quarter they made use of the obstinacy of the Emperor Leopold, who was bent, above all, on improving the opportunity afforded by his victories over the Turks for their utter destruction, as well as for the extinction of all independence in Hungary. General Caraffa erected a military tribunal at Eperies, which, on the slightest and most worthless evidence, tortured and executed hundreds as "insurgents," and ruined their families through the confiscation of their property. Under such conditions the diet summoned to meet in Presburg could not avoid acceding to every arbitrary demand of the government, and recognizing the crown as hereditary in the male line of the Hapsburgs. In addition, a zealous persecution of Protestantism took place. A similar fate befell Transylvania.

For a time the emperor continued to gain new successes over the Turks. Belgrade, the bulwark of Servia, fell into the hands of the Germans. The Margrave Louis of Baden penetrated deep into Servia and Bosnia, and defeated the Turks in three great battles—the last and most decisive at Nish (1689). Chiefly by the aid of German mercenaries, the Venetian commander, Francesco Morosini, in the course of the years 1685–1687 wrested the Morea from the Turks, and then applied himself to the siege of Athens. A fatal bomb fell unfortunately into the Parthenon, which the Turks used as a powder-magazine, and laid in ruins a considerable portion of this noble monument of Hellenic art. But the besiegers were successful in taking the city.

The fortune of war, however, soon changed. An attack on Negropont (Euboea) failed, and Athens was evacuated in the spring of 1688. As unsuccessful was Sobieski in his conflicts; and the Russians, who had joined the great league against the Turks, were not more fortunate.

Already the Porte had sent a peace-embassy to Vienna. But the extravagant demands of the emperor and the recent successes of the Turks inclined their statesmen to listen to the exhortations of the French ambassador in Constantinople to continue the war. On the other hand, Leopold could not be moved by the representations of the English, Dutch, Spanish, and Brandenburg statesmen, to be satisfied for the present with smaller gains in the east. The peace-negotiations were broken off, and the Turkish envoys left Vienna.

This was most advantageous for France. Louis had now little to fear from the side of Germany. On the north, too, Louis had taken care to disable the most powerful member of the coalition.

We know how miserable was the situation of the Celtic-Catholic

population of Ireland since Cromwell's "Act of Settlement" had reduced them to the condition of helots. Shut out from every office and robbed of their land, the Irish were squeezed almost to the last drop of their blood by their English landlords and the idle Anglican clergy. The Irish Catholic clergy, who discharged their duty amid a thousand dangers and in the direst penury, strengthened the hatred of their congregations against their foreign masters. James, while king, had begun to flatter the never-extinguished hopes of the people. No wonder that he retained the sympathies of the Irish masses, and that he received the most pressing and alluring invitations from his former officials to come over to Ireland. Louis encouraged him in the project, and gave him fourteen warships for the passage, arms, several millions in money, and officers to organize and lead an Irish force. On March 22, 1689, James landed at Kinsale in the south of Ireland.

But James's designs did not quite coincide with those of the French king. James regarded the reconquest of Ireland merely as the first step toward the recovery of England and Scotland. Louis, on the other hand, wished for a long-continued struggle between the English and Irish, in order that the attention of the former might be occupied as long as possible. For this reason Louis directed his diplomatic and military representatives in Ireland to prevent a decisive action. This view of the Versailles government coincided fully with the aims of the Irish. They wished to have James as their own Irish king, and to see him extirpate the Anglo-Saxon influence and Protestantism.

It soon became obvious that James was too dependent on the French and Irish to be able to carry out his own views in opposition to theirs. As he was not able to overcome the resistance of the Protestants in the north, especially in Londonderry, it became necessary for him to summon the Irish Parliament to meet in Dublin. He desired an adjustment of the really intolerable relations in regard to property in land. His Parliament compelled him to annul Cromwell's Act of Settlement, and thus to deprive of their lands almost all the English of the island. He wished to win over his enemies through mildness. Parliament coerced him into assenting to a series of statutes that gave up every "Saxon" to pillage and murder.

Meanwhile Louis had attained his end. The best troops of England, as well as William III. himself, had to leave Belgium and hasten to Ireland, and France was freed from all danger on that side.

The great coalition was now deprived of the co-operation of its most important members, and Louis exhausted the resources of his kingdom in the hope of effecting its dissolution by a series of heavy blows. He

took for his minister of finance the Count of Pontchartrain, an able and experienced, but unfeeling, man. Forty thousand new offices were created and sold, unheard-of taxes were imposed, the tontine—a sort of lottery—was introduced, private persons and churches had to deliver up their gold and silver utensils on the penalty of the galleys, and a tax of 12,000,000 livres was extorted from the clergy. The king himself sent his gold and silver service to be coined into money.

With such means at his disposal, Louvois strained every nerve to overcome, through new successes, the envy of Madame de Maintenon and the ingratitude of the king. Besides the garrisons of the countless fortresses, he sent 200,000 men into the field, and equipped a fleet of 80 ships of the line, 20 frigates, and 30 fire-ships, with which the coalition could in no way compete. Vice-admiral Tourville, a seaman of proved ability, was set over the fleet, Luxembourg was given the chief command in Belgium, while the command in the Alps was entrusted to General Catinat, who had made a name for himself by his adroitness in gaining possession of Casale.

It was a good omen for France that her friends, the Turks, had made the emperor pay dearly for his obstinacy. With the new grand-vizier, Mustapha Köprili, the energetic spirit of this illustrious family again infused new life into the administration of Turkey. He introduced everywhere economy, vigor, and order. The strong force which he was thus able to place in the field was made all the more formidable by the death, early in 1690, of the emperor's best general, Charles V. of Lorraine. Mustapha immediately drove the imperialists out of Bosnia and Servia, and finally recovered Belgrade.

Under such circumstances the emperor was unable to send any troops to the Upper Rhine, and accordingly, in the following year, the French were able to establish themselves on German soil and maintain themselves there at the cost of the inhabitants.

Meanwhile the withdrawal of the English from the Netherlands was severely felt. With the Dutch army alone, Waldeck was in no condition to cope with the much stronger Luxembourg. At Fleurus, June 30, 1690, he suffered a decisive and costly defeat. But this was not the only misfortune that befell the coalition. On July 10, Tourville engaged the Anglo-Dutch fleet off Beachy Head. The English admiral, Herbert, who was secretly an adherent of James, prevented his ships from taking any effective part in the battle. The Dutch fought gallantly against the superior French force, but had ultimately to make a retreat, in which they were eagerly joined by Herbert.

In the south, also, the French met with success. Duke Victor

Amadeus of Savoy, long weary of his thralldom to France, had, in June, 1690, joined the coalition, which promised him the possession of the Alpine fortress, Pinerolo. He now declared war against France, set all the imprisoned Waldensians at liberty, and, summoning these and the Huguenots to contend against the common oppressor, gathered a not inconsiderable force around him. But his men were inexperienced and undisciplined, and Catinat had little difficulty in inflicting a decisive defeat upon them near the abbey of Staffarda, in August, 1690.

The issue of the struggle in Ireland might be regarded as, in some measure, a compensation for these repeated defeats of the coalition. On King William's landing with a considerable force, James, although he had been reinforced from France, made a rapid retreat. But he could not give up without a struggle the capital, Dublin, and therefore took up a position behind the river Boyne. On July 11, 1690, he was attacked by William, in whose army served the sons of many Protestant peoples. In this battle Marshal Schomberg, a Huguenot and excellent soldier, was slain in a hand-to-hand fight with James's guards. But the Irish did not resist long. James himself set the example of flight, not so much out of fear, as because he regarded the cause of his dynasty and of legitimate monarchy in England as dependent on his personal safety. The French corps, which took little share in the fight, escorted him to the coast, where he instantly took ship for France, being himself the first to bring the news of his defeat to Paris.

Like all inexperienced but brave combatants, the Irish fought better behind walls than in the open field, and defended themselves with great determination in a few fortresses in the west. But the cause of James was lost, and a large part of Ireland was under William's authority. This prince and his army were again available for the great conflict with France. Parliament, incensed on account of the impolitic ravages of the French fleet on the coasts of England, granted ample supplies.

Scarcely recovered from the fatigue of the Irish campaign, William set sail for The Hague in the storms of winter, in order to arrange with his allies for the campaign of the next year. Every state wished to receive the largest possible amount of subsidy from England and Holland, and to do as little as possible in return for it. At most 220,000 combatants were available, but could the king be sure of even two-thirds of these before the next June? Louis, on the other hand, sat quietly in Versailles, and a word from him or a stroke of the pen sufficed to assemble hundreds of thousands of fighting men at any given point and hour.

In the beginning of March, 1691, Catinat made himself master of the county of Nice, and, later in the year, of the whole of Savoy proper.

Meanwhile the coalition was startled by a still more severe blow. Suddenly, in March, an admirably equipped French army appeared, accompanied by Louis, before Mons, the bulwark of Brussels. Before William could collect a force sufficient for its relief, the city capitulated (April, 1691).

At the same time a great conspiracy for the restoration of James was discovered in England. Persons of eminence, like the Earl of Clarendon, as well as other lords and several bishops, were involved in it, and well-grounded suspicion rested on the minister Godolphin, Lieutenant-general the Earl of Marlborough, and Admiral Russell. The allies were glad to escape further losses this year. Sweden withdrew in bad humor from the great alliance; but it was at least relieved of the double danger that had threatened it from the extreme east and west. Turkey ceased to be a menace after the brilliant victory that Louis of Baden, with scarcely 50,000 men, had gained over an army of 100,000, under Mustapha Köprili, near Peterwardein, the grand-vizier himself being among the 20,000 Turks who fell (August, 1691). On the west all resistance was at an end. Ireland was finally subdued (October, 1691).

Louis had long been dissatisfied with the arrogant and self-willed Louvois. The misfortunes of 1689 had shaken his authority, and Madame de Maintenon, jealous of his influence, united with all the members of the court to widen the breach. Louvois's enemies received the highest offices of state and the chief command of the armies, and measures of the highest importance were adopted without his advice, or even against it. The many humiliations which Louis now heaped on Louvois had a powerful effect on his bodily health, already impaired by the wearing strain to which he had subjected himself from his youth up, by his incessant devotion to his duties. He died of heart-disease, July 16, 1691, in the fifty-first year of his age. Louis showed the same indifference at the death of this minister which he had manifested at the death of Colbert.

Louis sought to make good the loss of his most gifted counselors by increased activity on his own part, but his failure in accomplishing this made clear to all the world in how large a measure his successes had been due to them.

The king now desired that James II. should make an attempt on England itself, where circumstances seemed to favor such a trial. A large proportion of the English clergy had, indeed, wished to see James's Catholic propaganda disarmed, but his deposition they had from the first disapproved of as inconsistent with the "divine right." Numerous

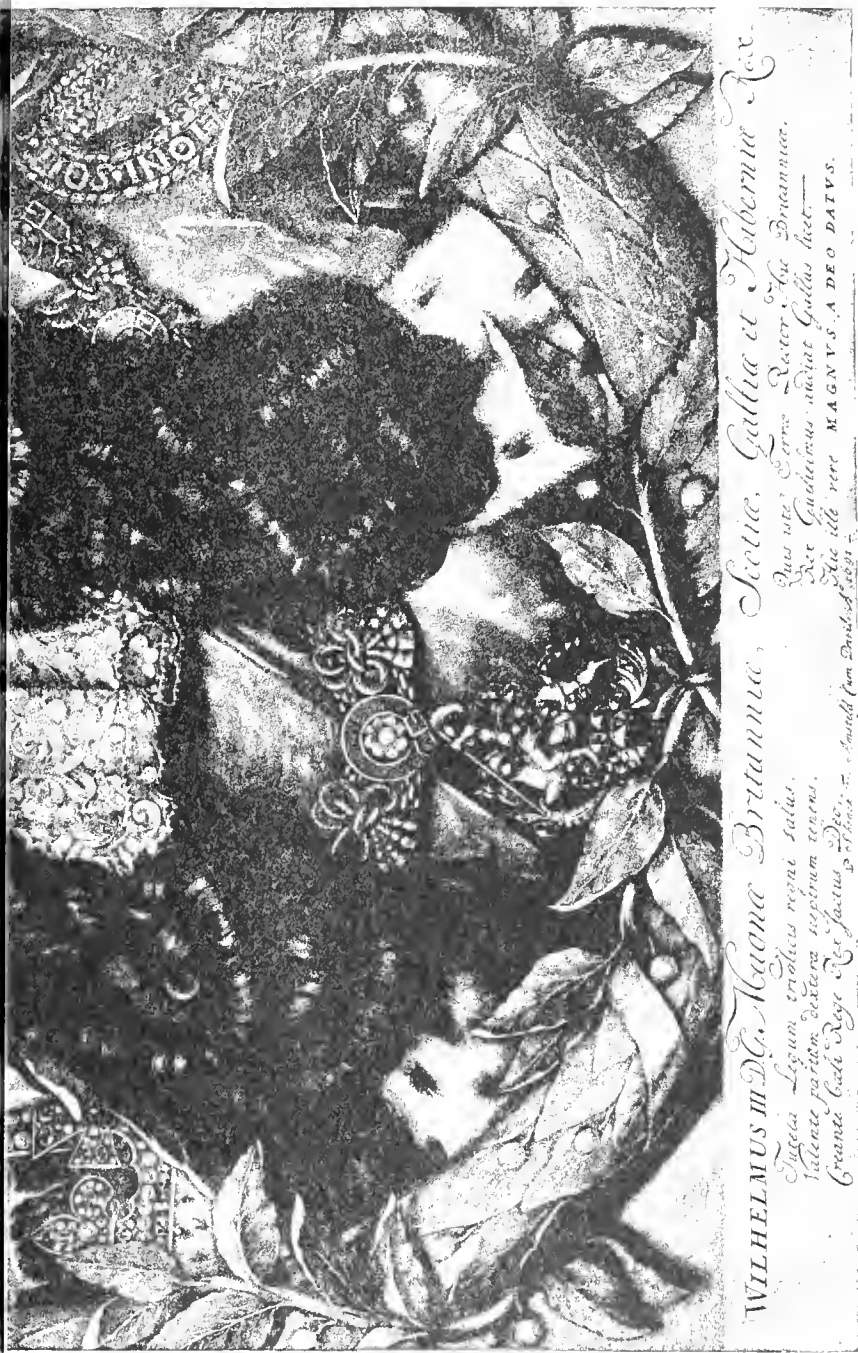
bishops and clergymen refused to swear allegiance to William and were forced to relinquish their offices. The Tory statesmen, who before had so largely contributed to the expulsion of the Stuart, now earnestly longed for his restoration, because the guidance of the country had naturally fallen into the hands of the Whigs, through the victory of their principles. William himself wished to have a non-partisan government, but government by the great parliamentary groups was already too firmly established to make such a plan practicable. William's partiality for Holland, too, and his Dutch friends, contributed to his personal unpopularity. His own sister-in-law and successor, Anne, fell out with him and allied herself with her father. The English admiral, Russell himself, was won over for the "Jacobites." In view of all these circumstances, Louis believed that he could once more entrust James with a fleet and army.

But William (PLATE XXI.) got news of the conspiracy. Hitherto he had treated such undertakings with an excess of mildness; this time he resolved to act with energy. Eighty of the foremost Jacobites—among them Marlborough—were arrested for high treason; even the Princess Anne was placed under military supervision in her palace (May, 1692). It is probable that James's attempt would not have proved a failure had he not again been his own worst enemy. His ships flew the French flag and carried, for the most part, French troops, while he published a manifesto breathing revenge and threatening hundreds of thousands with punishment. Therefore, all the Whigs and moderate Tories straightway deserted the cause of the Stuarts. In order to clear himself of suspicion, Admiral Russell, with the united English and Dutch squadrons, sought an encounter with the weaker French fleet under Tourville, and defeated it, May 29, 1692. Sixteen ships sought refuge behind the promontory of La Hogue, on the coast of Brittany, but all were burned by the English.

France no longer had a fleet, and all prospect of James's restoration vanished. By land, on the other hand, France was still superior. Her troops now took Namur, which, lying at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, commanded the valleys of both rivers. William had tried to relieve it, but in vain; Luxembourg impeded his advance, while Louis, in person, compelled the city to surrender (June, 1692). The English king, much chagrined at this heavy and inglorious loss, determined to avenge it, and fell on Luxembourg, August 3, at Steenkerke. But the marshal defended himself with such ability that William, if not absolutely defeated, thought it best to retire. After this defeat the Upper House in Westminster compelled him to restore to Marl-

PLATE XXI.





William III., King of England.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving (1691), by Pieter Schenk (1645-1715).

borough—if not his offices—at least his liberty ; while the Lower House assailed the king's Dutch favorites with extreme severity.

Only on the scene of conflict in the Alps had the allies a superior force. This Victor Amadeus utilized for an inroad into Dauphiny, which he ravaged as cruelly as the French had ravaged the Netherlands and the Palatinate. But he gained no enduring advantage. A modern Maid of Orleans—*Mademoiselle de La Tour-du-Pin*—put herself at the head of the provincials, who defended themselves resolutely, till the incapacity and dissensions of the allied generals necessitated their withdrawal in the autumn from French soil.

On the whole, the year 1692 had not been unfavorable for France. In material strength she was, indeed, weaker than her enemies, but in energy, ability, and unity she had again shown herself their superior. The French king strained every nerve to maintain his ascendancy. Despite the terrible misery of his people, he augmented his army to nearly 400,000 men, so that, in numbers also, it was superior to the allied forces. His aim was not only to defeat William III., but also to harass his allies, the Dutch and Spaniards, and to chastise the Duke of Savoy for his inroad into Dauphiny. Tourville, Catinat, and Boufflers were rewarded for their services with the marshal's baton. But it was soon evident that Louvois's energy and unequalled practical ability were no longer at the disposal of the French army. Louis wished to attack Liège, but the troops destined for the work were not ready to march till the beginning of June. Meanwhile, William had found time to help the threatened city. The French monarch, ashamed, returned forthwith to Versailles, and never again appeared in the field in person.

But everywhere else the French met with success. Catinat inflicted a fresh defeat on the Piedmontese at Marsaglia. The Duke of Noailles captured several fortresses in Catalonia. Marshal de Lorges burned Heidelberg to the ground. Notwithstanding the undeniable superiority of the allied fleet, the French privateers inflicted no little damage on English and Dutch commerce. Finally, on July 29, 1693, Luxembourg with superior forces stormed William's strong position at Neerwinden in the Netherlands, the fruit of his victory being the capture of Huy and Charleroi. But, through judicious dispositions and dextrous manoeuvres, William knew how to counterbalance the defeat. Within fourteen days he confronted the marshal with a reorganized army.

The purpose of the allies had been to destroy the preponderance of France in Europe. But this had not been accomplished. On the contrary, every campaign since 1690 had closed with a balance in favor of Louis. The southeastern quarter of the Spanish Netherlands, Savoy

and Nice, the north of Catalonia, had fallen into the power of France, while her enemies had not captured so much as a French village. Yet Louis felt the necessity of concluding peace. Not only was he prepared to relinquish all his conquests made during this war; he volunteered also to restore to Germany his fortresses in the district of Treves as well as Freiburg, and to renounce forever his claims to the Spanish Netherlands. These conditions were not accepted.

The reason for these proposals is to be found in the condition of France. She was no longer rich enough to pay for her renown. The war which she had for six years carried on against the whole continent had imposed such burdens that, notwithstanding her rich resources, she began to sink under them. The sixty millions (\$72,000,000) of extraordinary outlay that the war demanded yearly it was impossible to raise by new taxes. Commerce and industry were prostrated; a million powerful arms had been taken from husbandry to handle the sword and musket. Recourse was had to the dangerous expedients of loans and the sale of offices, and the offices were looked on mainly as a source of income for the state. The purchasers—and they numbered thousands and were the richest of the Third Estate—were freed from taxes, an exemption which increased the load on the shoulders of their poorer brethren. Loans of from ten to eighteen million livres were contracted yearly. Gradually, however, both sources dried up. No further purchasers of offices appeared, and the public credit was exhausted. In the beginning of 1693, recourse was had to the sale of the royal domains. But most pernicious of all was the adoption of the mediæval system of debasing the coinage. In 1693, there appeared an edict ordering every subject, on pain of severe punishment, to deliver up his gold and silver money, in return for which he received money of the same nominal value, but worth intrinsically fifteen per cent. less. It was hoped that from this process the king would obtain a net profit of fifty million livres, but instead of the calculated three hundred and fifty millions only two hundred million livres were brought in for exchange, so that the gain did not reach thirty millions. The balance was secretly hoarded in the hope of better times.

Notwithstanding all these sources of revenue, the state incomes were not sufficient to meet the constantly increasing claims of the army. The contractors, who had to wait for payment till the coming of better times, delivered inferior goods at higher prices. The soldiers, whose pay was often months in arrear, fell off in discipline and military spirit, and desertions assumed alarming proportions. The whole structure of the state threatened to fall in ruin. Rebellions broke out in the provinces. The

Protestant mountaineers in the southeast of France rose in arms, and were then hunted down like wild beasts. The king desired to put a stop to the massacres, but only in order to fill his galleys with slaves.

The constant levying of soldiers and the crushing weight of the taxes ruined agriculture. In consequence of this, there was, in 1691, a scarcity of the means of subsistence, with a rise in prices. But all this was only a prelude to what was to follow. The summer of 1692 was exceptionally wet and cold, the harvest unproductive, and the war shut off imports from without. Famine began to show itself. Bands of country-people came begging and threatening to the gates of the cities. The *intendants* hanged some of them to intimidate the others, but the wretches said that they would rather be hanged than starve. In Paris the populace attacked the marketmen and the officials; even soldiers were among the rioters. In Versailles the authorities put the bakers in prison, in order, in some degree, to mitigate the fury of the starving mobs. A little city like Laon numbered 1200 poor, who lived on public charity.

The harvest of 1693 disappointed all the hopes that had been set on it. By the end of August, the price of grain had risen to threefold the usual rate. Despair and disorders prevailed almost everywhere, without the government being in a position to suppress the latter by benevolence or by force. Instances of actual cannibalism occurred. In Paris itself innumerable derisive and abusive pamphlets appeared under the very eyes of the enraged monarch. Madame de Maintenon and the minister Pontchartrain urgently pressed for the conclusion of a peace without delay, in order to avert the total ruin of the country.

The want of money had, in 1694, a most disastrous effect on the army, with which no further offensive operations could be ventured on. Everywhere the energy of the French troops was half paralyzed, save in Catalonia, where Marshal de Noailles was able to defeat the weak army of the enemy and capture a few places by sacrificing his own very considerable private means. Catinat in Piedmont and the dauphin on the Rhine remained entirely on the defensive. All that Luxembourg could effect in the Netherlands with the élite of the French troops was to prevent William III. from making an inroad into the French provinces. He could not hinder him from recovering Huy, one of the two places captured in the preceding year. And even France itself did not continue entirely unscathed. The allied fleet, which no French squadron ventured to encounter, destroyed Dieppe and burned the greater part of Havre.

This year, 1694, constituted the turning-point of the war. In the

autumn it was clear alike to Louis and his adversaries that France was beginning to show signs of exhaustion and was no longer in a condition to offer successful resistance to her powerful enemies. The political situation had changed altogether to Louis's disadvantage. He had lost all influence on Germany. Formerly he could regard himself as master of Upper and Central Italy; now the imperial generals were free to do as they would in those districts, and the Italian principalities and republics were little better than provinces of the house of Austria. Great Britain was no longer in the hands of the friendly Stuarts, but in those of Louis's most determined and irreconcilable enemy.

It is customary to say that war is unfavorable to the development of the liberties of the people who engage in it. It would be nearer the truth to say that every war strengthens the elements which are the preponderating ones in the states concerned. In England it was the Lower House whose influence was increased by the long conflict. To secure for himself the support of the people's representatives, William had found it necessary to renounce his idea of founding a kingly authority independent of Parliament and above the strife of parties. In 1694, he had dismissed his last Tory minister and constituted his government exclusively from the Whig party, which dominated the Lower House. At the close of this year he had to accept the so-called Triennial Bill, which made necessary a new general election of members of the House of Commons every three years. In return for these concessions, Parliament placed at William's disposal ample means for the continuance of the war.

Louis, on the other hand, had to demand new sacrifices from his overburdened and despairing people. Among others a poll-tax, graduated according to rank and property, and ranging from one livre to two thousand, was imposed on everyone, not even excepting princes of the blood. New retrenchment had to be made in the conduct of the war. A fleet was no longer to be thought of; France must content herself with coast-defences. Everywhere the French armies were to restrict themselves to the defensive. Furthermore, France lost her best general—Luxembourg—in the first days of 1695, and she had no one to fill his place. Marshal Villeroi, who received the chief command of the great army in Flanders, was a creature of court favor. He let himself be out-manoeuvred by William, who besieged Namur, France's greatest acquisition in this war, which the genius of Vauban had made the strongest fortress of Europe. The skill of his Dutch engineer, Coehoorn, and the headlong courage of the allied soldiers won the city for the English king. Its governor, the brave Boufflers, retired into the citadel, which was perched on a lofty rock. To relieve him, Villeroi attempted a diversion which had as its

secondary object the revenging of the injuries inflicted by the allied fleet on the French coast-towns. He bombarded Brussels. Fifteen hundred houses with treasure untold went up in flames. But William was not to be moved. He stood fast before the citadel of Namur, till he compelled it to honorable capitulation, on September 1, 1695.

This event made a deep impression both in and out of France. To William the success came in the nick of time. The death of his queen, Mary, the heiress proper to the English throne, in the first days of 1695, had inflamed the strife between the Whigs and Tories over the question of the succession, and given it fresh violence. But the enthusiasm roused by the news from the continent gave William a majority of moderate Whigs in the new Lower House. Yet the English felt more and more the burden of the war, and especially the damage inflicted on their commerce by Louis's privateers.

Louis, conscious that things could not go on as they had been going, was determined to secure peace for himself, at least in one quarter. However mortifying to his pride, he approached the Duke of Savoy with proposals for peace. Victor Amadeus—who was no more faithful to the great alliance than he had been to France—accepted the proposals, but only on condition that Casale should be restored to the Duke of Mantua, and Pinerolo evacuated in favor of himself. Louis agreed to the former condition, and in July, 1695, the French left Casale. He made more difficulty about giving up Pinerolo, that “key to the gate of Italy,” but, in May, 1696, he brought himself to do this, and also renounced the French claim to a protectorate over Savoy and consented to the marriage of the daughter of Victor Amadeus with the Duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin.

The allies were exasperated at the faithlessness and selfishness of the Savoyard, but there was no course open to them but to give up the war in Italy, and, in October, 1696, they concluded at Vigevano a treaty with Louis securing the neutrality of the peninsula.

Peace was now in the air, but none of the combatants would be the first to make advances. Then Sweden again undertook to act as mediator, and this time with better success.

The monetary crisis in England had assumed threatening proportions. While the old depreciated coins had been withdrawn from circulation, the new could not be produced in sufficient abundance without delay. The Bank of England could no longer redeem its notes. Peace alone could restore confidence and credit, and with these the sure prospect of better times. The States-General had taken part in the war unwillingly, and only because they were moved thereto by William's

authority and the number of his adherents among the Dutch people. The immense costs of the war—which had been largely defrayed by Dutch gold, in the form of subsidies to Spain, the emperor, and the beggarly German princes—weighed the little republic down to the ground. Finally France offered conditions that could be accepted: the restitution of all the “reunions” which had been made since the Peace of Nimwegen—even Strasburg and Luxemburg—and the restoration of Lorraine.

Spain and the emperor would not listen to such proposals—the former, from her desire to win back her South Belgian towns, the latter because he wished to see France so enfeebled that on the expected vacancy in the throne of Spain she could offer no opposition to the plans of the house of Hapsburg. But, when William threatened that the maritime powers would conclude peace on their own account, the emperor and Spain took part in the congress that was opened on May 9, 1697, at Ryswick. Leopold's claims were not small—nothing less than the restitution of all the German territories seized by France since the Peace of Münster. But such demands could not be seriously considered in view of the miserable rôle which the empire, mainly through the emperor's fault, had played during the war. For William III. it was of the utmost importance that the Jacobite party in England should be deprived of all prospect of French support. He desired, therefore, an express declaration from Louis, that he would neither directly nor indirectly lend assistance to James. Louis at last agreed to give no help to William's foes, without any exception, and William ceased to insist on the reinstatement of the Huguenots in their native land. Thus an understanding between the two chief powers was reached. The Dutch were won by the grant of greater commercial privileges. France and the two maritime powers were thus in agreement, yet Louis declared that his offers held good only until the end of August. The Spaniards, who had just then suffered their most severe defeats from the French, soon accepted these conditions. Only the emperor and the empire still held out. But the emperor's obstinacy had only this consequence, that Louis, after the expiration of the interval which he had named, declared himself free from obligations, and compelled the emperor, who had been deserted by the remaining members of the alliance, to content himself with the little towns of Breisach and Freiburg in Breisgau, in place of the important Strasburg (October 31, 1697). The Elector of Brandenburg received as compensation from the selfish and ungrateful William III. only the empty title of *Altesse électorale* in place of that of *Sérénité électorale*.

The Peace of Ryswick by no means satisfied the expectations with

which the allies had entered into the war. Louis XIV. had not been compelled to surrender all his conquests and to fall back to the position conceded to him by the Peaces of Münster and of the Pyrenees. But, whatever grounds the Peace of Ryswick left for dissatisfaction, it at least marked the turning-point in Louis's strivings after universal monarchy. He still maintained the foremost and most prominent position in Europe, but he could no longer dream of making the continent unconditionally subject to his will and pleasure. The restitution of the duchy of Lorraine, the strengthening of Savoy and the closing of the Alpine passes, the annihilation of the French party in the electorate of Cologne, took border-lands from France which she had ruled almost as absolutely as her own provinces. Finally the close union of Catholic and Protestant powers against Louis XIV. helped to remove the remains of religious antipathies among the European states.

In France the dissatisfaction with the peace was no whit less than in Germany and England. Men bewailed the fortune of the Stuarts, and regarded the restitution of the acquisitions purchased by blood and gold as a disgrace. And, corresponding to the change which had taken place in the power of France abroad, there came a revolution within—a reaction against the aims which the great king had so persistently pursued, both in his youth and when he was at the height of his power and fortune.

CHAPTER IX.

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

IF Louis XIV. had forfeited nothing of his absolute power in the latter half of his reign, yet he had himself become changed, and angry forces were rising around him which augured a stormy future. His vigorous constitution, too, had to pay tribute to sickness and approaching old age. With his frequent ailments and the fear of death and eternal retribution there came a change over Louis's nature that was carefully encouraged by Madame de Maintenon. Festivities and other amusements were reduced in number, amours were renounced, and the monarch devoted himself with greater ardor and frequency to his religious duties. The whole court had, at least outwardly, to imitate his pious, even monkish, manner of life. Bigotry became a sure avenue to advancement. Madame de Maintenon had her spies everywhere, and let nothing reach the king that could harm herself. Under the pretext of a benevolent and sympathetic nature, she took the distribution of the royal bounty almost exclusively into her own hands. In place of squandering the money at her disposal on ornaments and festivities, she devoted large sums to the convent school of St.-Cyr for the maintenance of four hundred daughters of poor noble families—a place which she also designed as a refuge for herself in case of her fall from the royal favor or the death of the king. The favor which the king and Madame de Maintenon showed to the confessor of the former, Father Francis d'Aix de Lachaise, gained him the patronage of all the benefices of the kingdom, so that the foremost families courted his friendship. Louis had presented him with a fine piece of land on a height in the northeast of Paris, now occupied by the famous cemetery of Père Lachaise, and here, in his beautiful garden and elegant villa, he devoted himself to the sciences and his own comfort.

What with devotees, father-confessors, bishops, and spies, life at the court of Versailles was rigidly precise and unnatural. But the courtiers compensated themselves with wild orgies in Paris and free-thinking railleury. Gaming flourished more than ever. It may be confidently affirmed that never were morals more corrupt than in the pious period of Louis's life. He had unfettered all passions, and his behests were

now powerless to limit their sway. Priests and nobles organized themselves into formal clubs for the common practice of vice, and ladies of the highest nobility indulged in the most scandalous profligacy. Against this the king had but one resource—the prison, the *lettres de cachet*. In the Bastille was to be found, along with the victims of his merciless despotism—Huguenots, persons who had offended him, and foreigners of influence—the whole scum of the rotten and loathsome higher society of those days.

The unfavorable issue of the war impressed the king with the duty of conciliating heaven by still greater devotion and penance for his immoral life. His son, the Dauphin Louis, as well as the latter's eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, belonged to the pietistic party. The former was an altogether insignificant prince, but, like his descendant, Louis XVI., an immoderate eater and hunter, without interest in anything higher. Louis of Burgundy was at first a pupil of Fénelon, who in his "Télémaque" presents his ideal of a prince, which was exactly the opposite of what Louis had been up to this time.

The changed tendency of the king and his court found emphatic expression in his ecclesiastical policy. Formerly the most zealous opponent of ultramontanism, he now courted most eagerly the favor of Rome. He regarded the pope as a useful ally, inasmuch as his friendship would gain for him the sympathies of the Catholic powers and thus put an end to his perilous state of isolation. With this object in view, he made no scruple in offering to Pope Innocent XII. the withdrawal of the royal edict enforcing the carrying out of the four articles of 1682 (see p. 499).

The leaders of the Gallican church were now compelled to profess their abject submission to the Vatican (1693). The attitude of Louis himself was somewhat ambiguous in regard to the four theses. Through a letter to the pope and a corresponding announcement to the Parlement, he rescinded his objectionable edict, but the declaration itself of 1682 was not expressly set aside and declared false. Matters, in fact, relapsed into the condition in which they had stood before 1682.

The leaders of the band which had labored so successfully for the submission of France to Rome were the Duke of Beauvilliers and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Chevreuse. Both were bosom-friends of Fénelon. Francis de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, born in 1651, had, at the seminary of St.-Sulpice, Paris, a school standing midway between Jansenism and Jesuitism, imbibed all the fervor of faith of the former sect and the religious doctrines of the latter, and was thus thoroughly imbued with a mystic piety, which made him at the time of the dragnades an unrelenting persecutor of the Protestants. His own zeal and

the intercession of Beauvilliers recommended him to Louis XIV., who first made him tutor to the Duke of Burgundy and afterward appointed him Archbishop of Cambrai. But Fénelon had already entered on a path that brought him into collision with Rome and the king.

In the monasteries of Spain, at the time of the Reformation, a mystic cult had arisen, which, instead of the exoteric way of the church, spoke of an esoteric way to eternal life—a way on which God guided the soul solely and exclusively through its immersion in Christ. This cult, known as Quietism, was propagated by a number of enthusiasts of both sexes. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Quietism became widely disseminated through all Catholic lands. Its most effective apostle was the Aragonian, Miguel Molinos, who, in 1670, settled in Rome. His announcement that the methods of expiation prescribed by the church did less than purity and righteousness of heart to procure forgiveness attracted all classes of the city to him. The most eminent cardinals, even Pope Innocent XI. himself, became his friends. In order to instruct pious souls in a more thorough and satisfactory way than by the spoken word, he published his "Spiritual Guide." Congregations were organized and took this work as their standard. When the Jesuits, who scented the danger which Quietism, with its related Jansenism, was preparing for the church, declared against it, the truly learned Petrucci, Bishop of Jesi, came forth as its defender with the express approval of the pope.

In France, also, Quietism found adherents, chief among whom was a young woman, Marie de la Motte-Guyon, who, in ecstasie immersion of self in the being of the Godhead, sought consolation for the miseries of an unhappy marriage. After her husband's death she retired to Geneva, where she found a kindred spirit in the Barnabite monk Lacombe. They issued Quietistic writings. In 1686, Madame de Guyon returned to Paris, where she approached Fénelon, and soon won over his visionary devotion to her views.

But just at this time Quietism began to be assailed with fatal blows. Father Lachaise tried to interest Louis against it, and in this he succeeded. The king denounced Quietism to the pope, and the Jesuits seconded him with all their influence. The full danger of this sect to the official church had indeed been manifested—often through indifference toward the mass, communion, and ecclesiastical discipline, and even through open resistance to the ordinances of the church. The Inquisition intervened, and in 1687 seventy Quietists were arrested in Rome. Molinos was sentenced to death as a heretic, but on his recantation this sentence was commuted into confinement for life in a monastery. Sixty

theses of Quietism were condemned. Jesuitism supported by French despotism had again triumphed.

The French Quietists, also, were persecuted by the court and the Jesuits, Madame de Maintenon breaking even with her protégé Fénelon (Fig. 65). Once more the "noble" Bossuet led the van of the stern guardians of the faith. Madame de Guyon was sent to prison and ulti-



FIG. 65.—Fénelon. After an anonymous contemporary copper-engraving.

mately to the Bastille. The unhappy Lacombe, who for ten long years was transferred from one prison to another, went insane, and laid violent hands on himself. A priest, named Robert, was burned alive. Fénelon escaped more easily. Innocent XII., who wished to spare him, was influenced, indeed, by Bossuet's followers and the king to condemn twenty-three passages from his "Maxims of the Saints on the Inner Life," but this he did without any expression of opprobrium against the compiler

(1699). Fénelon submitted humbly and publicly to the sentence of the church.

This marked the end of Quietism in Italy and France. It had been the old conflict between religion, whose kingdom is not of this world, and the Roman church, which had allied itself with worldly power and worldly dominion. Fénelon took the standpoint of Arnold of Brescia and Savonarola, while the Jesuits and Bossuet had on their side the traditions of more than a thousand years. Their triumph had as its consequence the strengthening of ultramontaniam at the French court.

In like manner a far-reaching change appeared in the administration. The great ministers of the earlier days of Louis had all passed away, and the men who replaced them—chiefly their sons and nephews—possessed nothing of the genius which had made their predecessors illustrious. More than ever Louis had to become the real guide of the state, and was wont to work, with his advisers, even in the evenings after dinner. And now it became evident how much he had been indebted to the counselors, who, much more than he, had contributed to the great successes of the first decades of his reign. On all sides decadence appeared. The courts of justice began to violate the laws. Discontent and a spirit of mutiny were rife in the army, and the whole structure so carefully built up by Louvois began to shake to its foundations. The frightful ten years' war against allied Europe had annihilated the good results of a vigorous and skilful administrative policy, and its numerous errors and deficiencies now produced all the more baneful consequences. The means of communication were in a deplorable condition. In the revenue-district of Paris, for example, upwards of fifty bridges lay in ruins, while many highways were quite impassable in winter.

The government itself recognized in official—though, of course, strictly secret—documents the universal impoverishment and the decrease in the population. As early as 1688, Vauban had represented to the king the deplorable consequences of the persecution of the Huguenots. The maritime trade was at a standstill on the coasts of Normandy and Poitou, and industry there was prostrate, because the people—mostly Protestants—had fled out of the country. But the war and the famine had even worse consequences. There were districts, like those of West Flanders, Tours, and Alençon, where the population was reduced to a half, and cities, like Troyes, Bordeaux, and Lyons, where the loss was still greater. According to a moderate computation, the population of the kingdom had in the course of the war diminished by two millions. The great cities were overwhelmed with debt. In the country, estates were often abandoned by their tax-burdened possessors, and an

ordinance was issued permitting anyone to cultivate them, and freeing the new occupants from land-taxes for four years. Industries of all kinds, so carefully fostered by Colbert, had, in consequence of the exorbitant taxes and the closing of the frontiers during the war, received their death-blow. One-half of the northern cloth-manufacturers and their workmen emigrated to the Netherlands; the woolen manufacture of Rheims, the linen manufacture of Normandy, and the silk manufacture of Lyons and Tours lay all but paralyzed.

And all these sacrifices had purchased not glory, but defeat, and every class felt all the more keenly the moral as well as material losses which despotism had inflicted on the nation. The *grandeurs* murmured over the insignificance which was now their lot; the ordinary nobles over their enforced and unremunerated service, and over the intolerable burdens imposed on their tenants, which incapacitated them from paying rent; the *bourgeois* over the decay of business and general prosperity.

Louis was impressed with the urgent need for great reforms, but he and his ministers were incapable of instituting them. The army was reduced to about 120,000 men. Rich private citizens were called on to contribute to the revival of industry by erecting manufactories in certain cities. A not less characteristic means was adopted for restoring the prosperity of the colonies, whose trade had been completely ruined by the naval war. The galley-slaves who had served out their time were sent to them as colonists. The expedients for doing away with poverty and dearth were no whit less ridiculous. Some of the dealers who tried to get control of the supply of grain were imprisoned. The poor who could not be sheltered in hospitals were sent to the galleys for five years—in reality for life, if they had not the good fortune to be shipped to a penal colony. After such sacrifices for the public weal, Louis could not well refrain from having a medal struck in his own honor, on which he is modestly termed *Providentia serratrix* ("Rescuing Providence").

It was a pity that the prosperity restored by this galley-and-prison system was, within three years, interrupted by a new war of the most formidable kind. Moreover, not defeat, nor pietism, nor scarcity of money could repress the king's propensity for pomp and show (Fig. 66). At military reviews the officers vied with each other in splendor, and reimbursed themselves at the cost of the exhausted treasury. And now, too, Louis resumed his costly building operations. Remonstrances were in vain. Even Madame de Maintenon exclaimed: "What will become of the people!" Marly seemed to be about to surpass Versailles, and, besides palaces, Louis erected magnificent churches to show

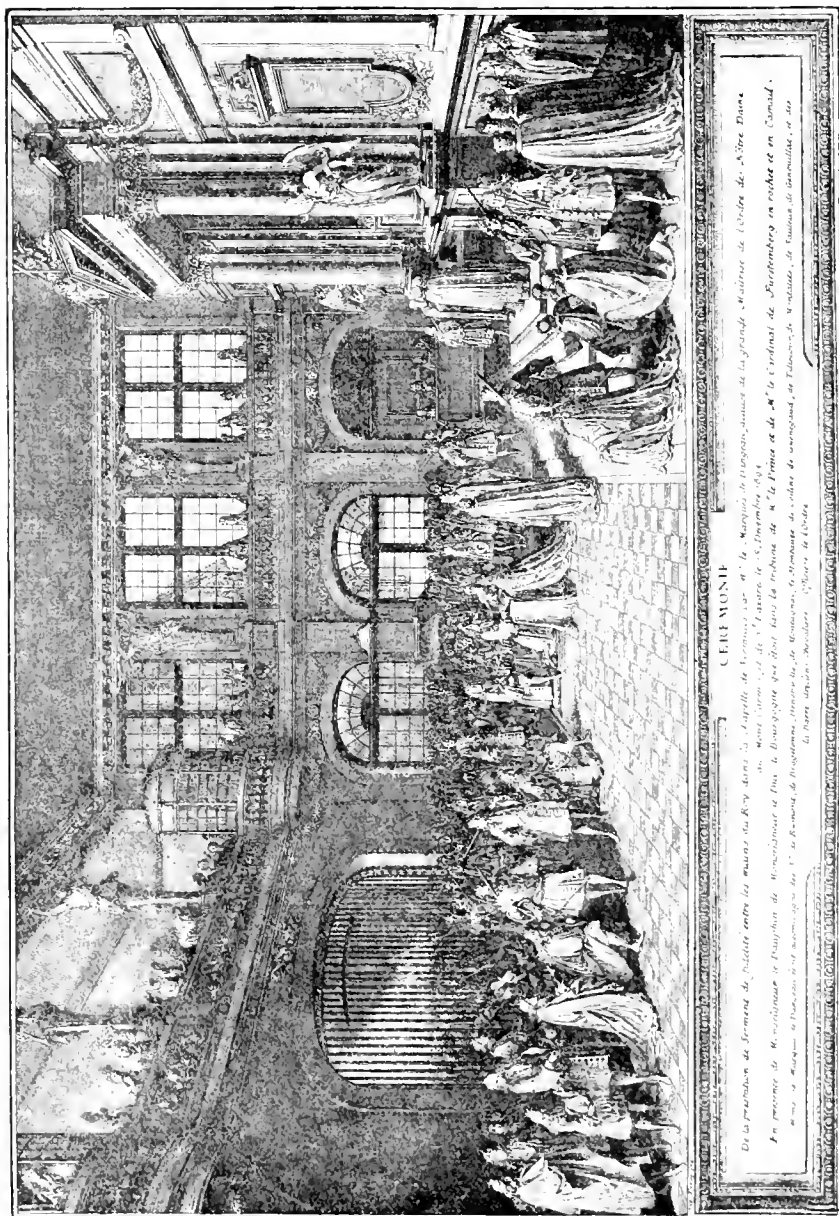


FIG. 66.—Louis XIV., receiving the oath of fidelity from the Marquis de Dangeau as Grand-Master of the United Orders of our Lady of Mount Carmel and of Saint Lazarus, December 18, 1655, in the chapel of Versailles. Reduced facsimile of a copper-engraving by Sébastien Leclerc (1637–1711), after A. Pezay.

how pious and God-fearing he was. In addition to all this, he erected in the Place Vendôme, in Paris, a colossal equestrian statue of himself, before which men paid their tribute of reverence and homage as to a divinity.

But the popular temper was quite different from that of the court and official circles. This found utterance all over France in the numerous pamphlets aimed against the king, which were eagerly devoured despite the severe penalties imposed on authors, printers, and readers. This opposition found expression still more effectively in great works of permanent value, which largely moulded the opinions of the younger generations. Fénelon's "Télémaque," which was composed only as a school-book for the future king, and was not designed for publication, preaches the doctrine of that enlightened absolutism which was realized in the eighteenth century in the persons of Frederick the Great and Joseph II. The ruler exists only for the sake of the people; he is the servant and guardian of the laws, and must never make use of the services of his subjects to further the sway and gratify the caprices of an individual. When the work, through the treachery of a copyist, appeared in print in 1699, Louis recognized its tendency, and ever after pursued its author with his implacable hatred. But an eminent layman soon took his place beside the highest church dignitary and warned the *Grand Monarque* in regard to his despotic ways.

Vauban, in the course of his professional journeys, had closely observed the condition of the kingdom and the people. He gave expression to his views in a work which he entitled "The King's Tithe" ("La Dîme Royale"). "Almost a tenth of the people," he says, "carry the beggar's staff and are actually begging. Of the other nine-tenths, five are not in a condition to give any alms, and of the remaining four, three are oppressed by debts and law-suits." With wonderful perspicacity Vauban recognized one of the weightiest causes of the mischief: the unfairness in the imposition of the taxes, which fell mainly on the poorer classes, while the rich and persons of quality escaped almost scot-free. He proposed to remedy this by substituting for the bewildering multiplicity of taxes a single tax of a tenth of all incomes, from that of the meanest day-laborer up to that of the prince. These views and the energetic and searching way in which Vauban condemned the existing system provoked Louis's liveliest anger. He caused Vauban to experience his disfavor, and confiscated and destroyed the book. The marshal, who had been suffering from an affection of the chest, was so deeply moved by this treatment that he took to his bed and died in a few days (March, 1707).

But his views were already widely disseminated. Simultaneously with him, Boisguillebert, a parliamentary councillor of Rouen, had, in his "*Détail de la France sous Louis XIV.*" reached the same views. Boisguillebert advocated the removal of every impost which impeded husbandry and commerce. The farmer of taxes, the king, and the church should no longer withhold from the people the right to work and to carry on trade. He, too, was persecuted by the whole official world, suspended from his office, and banished for a time to the savage Auvergne.

The religious literature of the opposition was no less effective than the political. Fontenelle, in his witty epigrams, boldly lashed Jesuitism and priestcraft. Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), first a sincere Protestant, then a Cartesian, was the most formidable assailant of bigotry. Braver than his master, he was always ready to endure martyrdom for his views, and was persecuted first by the Catholics and then by the Calvinists. What he mainly preached was toleration for everyone—atheists, Turks, Jews, and Christians of every creed. He made war only on superstition and fanaticism as the proper objects of hatred for every honorable man. His "*Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*," which appeared in 1696, produced an immense sensation and ruled the minds of the educated classes till the middle of the eighteenth century, preparing them, as it were, for the acceptance of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. Thousands of cultured Frenchmen devoured eagerly the forbidden book, and numerous authors began to work in the same field. Ever since the war against the Second Coalition, Louis had broken off his connection with literature, and had ceased to give it financial support. It began, therefore, to tread other paths.

Racine's tragic muse was silent. La Fontaine composed his last and least effective fables and died in 1695. Boileau's inexhaustible manufactory of epistles, odes, and satires no longer found a public. The decadence was not so abrupt in comedy, but it was felt. Satire continued to flourish as it does in every period of decadence, external and internal. To this class belong, above all, the "*Characters*" of La Bruyère (published in 1688), which, with admirable keenness of insight and true delicacy of feeling, not only chastise the common weaknesses, perversities, and vices of humanity, but also speak out distinctly against their own times and their own state with all its political and social conditions. He lashes bitterly the sanctimoniousness that surrounds a despotic ruler when he takes the notion of being pious. The more attractive the covering in which La Bruyère conceals his shafts, all the more surely and unexpectedly do they hit the mark at which they are aimed. Alain Le Sage is La Bruyère made up, as it were, for the stage. In outward form and

in the scene of action, his satirical novels are allied to the Spanish rogue-novels, but soar far above them intellectually and in keen, incisive derision of the degenerate conditions prevailing under an aging despot. The opposition of the vigorous *bourgeoisie* to the servile, frivolous, immoral, selfish higher classes—an opposition that ruled all of the eighteenth century—finds nowhere such apt expression as in him, especially in his “*Gil Blas*.” It finds expression even in his style, which served as a pattern for the century of Voltaire and Diderot.

It has been already noticed in how close a connection the religious opposition stood to the social and political. In vain did Bossuet seek to justify his zealous persecution of the Huguenots by derisive hits at Protestantism in his “*History of the Diversities of the Protestant Churches*.” La Bruyère’s “*Characters*” had recommended to the ruler forbearance and toleration for faiths differing from his own. The daring skepticism of a Bayle found many adherents in the higher ranks of French society, which seemed especially called on to defend the throne and altar. The unprincipled self-renunciation which monarchical absolutism required of its servants and favorites ill accorded with religious sincerity. The episcopal office appeared more and more as a lucrative sinecure gained by service at the monarch’s court. Already these secular *abbés*—a favorite type of the eighteenth century—were held up on the stage as a laughing-stock for the multitude. Even the hitherto so submissive court nobles began to revolt against the *Grand Monarque*.

After standing for twenty-five years, Louis’s whole structure was swaying to its foundations. His supremacy in Europe was not lasting, and he even found it impossible to realize permanently within his own dominions his ideal of kingly rule.

The states which had formed the coalition against him, after the din of the great struggle had died away and the menace of French supremacy had been removed, were compelled to take steps to bring order into their own unsettled affairs.

England had, without doubt, stood at the head of the alliance. Its people had brought two conflicts to a triumphant close—the one for their political freedom, and the other for their religion. William III. still strove to secure for himself a decisive influence over the foreign policy of the nation, but in this he was successful only in virtue of his personal character. Monarchy in England was in a fair way toward becoming a mere abstraction. The special form of Protestantism which had been developed in England—the Anglican state church—had acquired a preponderance in its own sphere not inferior to that of Parliament in politics. Catholicism embraced only about one-half per cent. of the population;

the remaining Protestant sects—the Dissenters—had dwindled away to about four per cent. But then the Established church had herself split in two. The strongly orthodox section of the clergy, who held to the dogma of strict legitimacy and the divine right of kings, and who therefore had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the “usurper” William—the non-jurors, as they were called—constituted the High church and was in close alliance with the Tories. The other section was more nearly allied to the Dissenters and strove to remove Catholic forms from the service. They constituted the Low church, which was recruited mainly from the Whigs. The Tories and High churchmen consisted largely of the still numerous class of moderate and small landed proprietors. Like all true conservatives, they were peacefully disposed toward foreign countries. Their opponents, the Whigs, must not be confused with the Liberals of the present age. At their head stood the larger number of the families of the high nobility, who, in their struggles against the power of the crown, had at heart the increase of their own political and personal influence. They constituted the Upper House, and made use of their predominant influence in the counties and smaller boroughs to place their younger sons, relatives, and other instruments in the House of Commons. The Whig party were wardlike, for only through war against James’s ally, France, could they secure the results of their work and their own position.

The great majority of the English people were undoubtedly conservative, but they nevertheless wished to preserve the fruits of the “Glorious Revolution.” The Peace of Ryswick had disturbed the relations between William and the nation. The fear of the Jacobites was over, but the results of the war seemed entirely disproportionate to the vast sacrifices which it had demanded. For these and kindred reasons, the Tories had a majority in the new Lower House. William wished to maintain the army at its full strength, but the majority of the Commons insisted on its reduction to 7000 men. The king’s position became more and more unpleasant, so that he seriously thought of abdicating and leaving England. It seemed as if it were impossible for monarchy to reconcile itself with a parliamentary system.

Scotland and Ireland were also deeply discontented with the prevailing state of affairs. Ever since the Restoration—that is, from 1660—these lands had once more had their own parliaments. But their common king was subject to the English Parliament, which had the control of the sinews of power, so that this body exercised an ascendancy over the other lands, which was not always to their advantage. Therefore, Ireland, though outwardly pacified, was in a state of ferment. In Scot-

PROSPECT OF THE FAMOUS CITY OF LONDON FROM S MARIE OVERS STEEPLE IN SOUTHWARKE IN ITS FLOURISHING CONDITION BEFORE THE FIRE. *Designed by W. Hollar of Prague 1686*



View of London before 1666 Engraving by Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677)

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|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. St. Dunstons Church | 8. St. Andrew in Walbrook | 15. St. Pauls Church | 22. St. Stephens Colemanstreet | 29. St. Christopher | 36. St. Peters in Cornhill | 43. Waterhouse | 50. Old Swan | 57. Leadchall |
| 2. St. Dunstons Church | 9. St. Pauls Church | 16. St. John Zochers | 23. St. Marys Church | 30. St. Edmunds | 37. St. Marys Hill | 44. St. Dunstons East | 51. Fishmongers Hall | 58. Royal Exchange |
| 3. St. Dunstons Church | 10. St. Nicholas | 17. St. Martin in Vintry | 24. St. Marys Church | 31. St. Michael in Cornhill | 38. St. Marys Church | 45. St. Dunstons West | 52. St. Dunstons Church | 59. St. Dunstons Church |
| 4. St. Dunstons Church | 11. St. Clements Church | 18. St. Marys Church | 25. St. Laurence | 32. St. Andrews Church | 39. St. Marys Church | 46. St. Dunstons Church | 53. St. Dunstons Church | 60. St. Dunstons Church |
| 5. St. Dunstons Church | 12. St. Andrews Church | 19. St. Thomas Apostle | 26. St. Marys Church | 40. St. Marys Church | 41. St. Marys Church | 47. St. Dunstons Church | 54. St. Dunstons Church | 61. St. Dunstons Church |
| 6. St. Dunstons Church | 13. St. Andrews Church | 20. St. Marys Church | 27. St. Marys Church | 42. St. Marys Church | 48. St. Marys Church | 49. St. Dunstons Church | 55. St. Dunstons Church | 62. St. Dunstons Church |
| 7. St. Dunstons Church | 14. St. Andrews Church | 21. St. Marys Church | 28. St. Marys Church | 49. St. Marys Church | 50. St. Marys Church | 51. St. Dunstons Church | 56. St. Dunstons Church | 63. St. Dunstons Church |

land nearly all the Highland clans, as well as the small sect of Episcopals, were warm adherents of James II., while the whole population was exasperated over the jealousy of the English Parliament toward Scotland's commercial and colonial plans, which it compelled the king to wreck.

Although the gross area of Scotland and Ireland combined exceeds that of England somewhat in the proportion of 12 to 11, yet England's population—7,000,000—was almost double that of the other two countries combined—4,000,000. The reason for this lay in the extraordinary development of England's industries and commerce, and in the consequent growth of her large towns. London (PLATE XXII.) especially, with its population of 700,000, had long ago outstripped Paris with its 500,000, and was the centre of the political, social, and mercantile life of the land. Two-thirds of England's capital in gold and silver money was here concentrated. Every man, woman, and child in England had, on an average, an annual income of £6½, while those of France had but £4⅔.

Already continental observers lauded the good cheer and the household comfort of the lower classes in England. Her transmarine trade was carried on in 3000 ships, protected by 200 ships of war with 40,000 sailors, and her gain from freight alone was £1,000,000 yearly. She was already renowned for husbandry and excellent breeds of cattle, and the products of her mines, especially of her coal-mines, supplied not only her own wants, but those of foreign lands. London was even then regarded as the commercial emporium of Europe.

In conformity with England's prosperity, the cost of the administration was astonishingly great for that period. Yet Parliament had considerably retrenched the fixed annual income of the crown, reducing it to £680,000, with the purpose of rendering the monarch more dependent on itself. But the supplies voted annually were much more considerable. Of the thirteen years of William's reign, only four were years of peace, and the average yearly expenditure was £5,500,000. Despite the widening of the area of taxation, almost every year closed with a deficit. To facilitate credit operations the government, in 1694, founded the Bank of England. It passed through the severe financial crisis of 1696–1697 so successfully that it was able not only to double its capital, but also to establish its position as the absolutely reliable banker of the English state. The advantages of this institution were quickly manifest. It lowered the rate of discount on treasury-bills from 20 and 30 to 5 per cent., thus saving the state hundreds of thousands of pounds yearly. Nevertheless by the time of William's death the national debt amounted

to £16,400,000, to meet the interest on which and to provide for a sinking fund £1,310,000 were annually expended. But the surprising fact came to light, that a state loan placed in the land itself and the high taxation resulting from it do not impair national prosperity, but rather encourage thrift and saving and provide a secure capital-stock that strengthens the financial credit of the land.

As in the domains of politics and the church, the Revolution of 1688 had also a great and enduring effect on the morals and the intellectual development of the people. Now it was no longer Cromwell's gloomy Puritans, but Charles's licentious courtiers, who seemed to merit hatred and contempt. After the genius of Congreve had exhibited in his comedies all the frivolity, and sparkling, but immoral, wit of the old school, the theatre, toward the close of the century, entered with Farquhar and Vanbrugh upon a purer and worthier path. Besides, with the victory of parliamentarism and the rapid advance in prosperity, freer and more independent ideas in politics, philosophy, and religion extended their sway. The change was associated, on the one hand, with the natural science, the philosophy, and skepticism of Holland, and, on the other, with the results of the Revolution of 1688.

Both tendencies were united in John Locke (1632-1704). His active youth, during which he applied himself successively to medicine, to diplomacy, to natural science, and philosophy, endowed his clear and acute intellect with almost universal knowledge, without tending to bewilder him or make him superficial. He was especially eminent as a philosopher, as is shown by his main work, the "Essay Concerning Humane Understanding." In contradistinction to the dogmatism of the Cartesians and Spinoza, Locke sets about an investigation of the human understanding, in order to determine whether there are, in point of fact, such things as innate ideas, and he comes to a thoroughly negative conclusion. All our conceptions are derived from experience. Through this strong positivism, the prevailing philosophical and religious systems were shaken to their foundations, and, by Locke's own deductions, the way indicated to naked materialism. The more Locke declared a sure criterion of objective truth to be impossible, all the more earnestly did he advocate in his letters "Concerning Toleration" complete religious forbearance. Locke is to be regarded as the founder of the able and productive eighteenth century school of philosophy, and the inaugurator of the "Age of Enlightenment."

The great political events of the period exercised an immediate influence on Locke, which we find reflected in his "Treatises on Government" (1690). Like Grotius and Hobbes, he proceeds upon the fiction of a

social compact entered into to secure the freedom and welfare of every individual. So soon as the constituted state authority violates this compact, it falls back into the state of nature, where everyone has a right to resist it because it works to the common prejudice of all. Sovereignty is derived from the people and is conferred on the executive authority—the king—only with limitations. The king is therefore bound by the restrictions that the popular law-giving power imposes on him. Thus was Locke the original author of the constitutional theory, and, as such, the precursor of Montesquieu and even of Rousseau. Not from the French, but from this Englishman, did the intellectual tendency of the period of Enlightenment in its political as well as religious aspect emanate.

The establishment of a national press also belongs to this period. Up to 1695 it was kept in subjection by a strong censorship. The law authorizing the censorship expired in that year without being re-enacted, and then the press was entirely free. Under no other restriction than that of the common law the press soon grew to be a power in England, and enabled public opinion to maintain itself side by side with Parliament.

Thus, by the side of the sinking absolute monarchy of France there grew up a free and parliamentary England. For this happy condition it had mainly to thank that silent and unlovable, but wise and far-seeing monarch, who even now was contemplating the resignation of a crown that had brought him so many mortifications. Though the three great powers of the west—France, Holland, and England—were divided by many rivalries and strifes, they were in a certain way associated by a certain community of civilization. In this respect Germany was far in the background. In this country, after the election of Leopold I. and the restrictions then imposed on the imperial power, a central authority was scarcely any longer spoken of. This the emperor himself felt, and the diet after his election (1659) was the last at which he appeared in person. His example of sending ambassadors to represent him at the diet was imitated by the princes, so that the "perpetual diet," which met at Ratisbon in 1663, was made up only of unimportant diplomats representing the various states of the empire, and was but a shadow of its former self. The second central authority, the imperial court of judicature, lost its meeting-place when the French burned Spire in 1689. In 1693 it was reconstituted at Wetzlar, where it continued to hold its sittings till the empire came to an end (1806).

Germany had, at least, compelled the Turks to make peace. Toward the end of the War of the Second Coalition, the imperialists saw themselves stopped in their career of victory. But at length the Peace of Ryswick enabled Austria to concentrate all her strength against the Ottomans,



FIG. 67. Prince Eugene. After a copper-engraving, 1722, by Bernard Picart (1673-1733); original painting by Jacob van Schuppen (1665-1751).

and at the same time she acquired a commander of real eminence in the young Prince Eugene of Savoy (Fig. 67).

Francis Eugene of Savoy (born in 1663) belonged to the collateral line of Carignan, and to that branch of this line which had settled in France, where its head bore the title of Count of Soissons. His mother was the famous Olympia Mancini, who was the first to awaken the love of the youthful Louis XIV., but preferred marriage with the Count of Soissons. After the death of her husband, she was compromised through her connection with the poisoner Voisin and fled to Brussels. Her sons were permitted to return to the court of Versailles, but were treated with the most marked disfavor. Eugene, burning with enthusiasm for the life of a soldier, was destined by Louis for the church, and, when his request for admission into the army was refused, he left France and entered the service of the emperor (1683). There he soon succeeded in winning the favor of Leopold I., and, in the course of the struggle against the Turks and thereafter against the French, he won, within ten years, the marshal's baton. He was distinguished rather for promptitude of decision and unyielding bravery than for skill in planning a campaign or mastery in tactics; and his straightforward spirit and his loyalty to his adopted country were associated with courtier-like and diplomatic shrewdness. In 1697 he received for the first time an independent command, which he forthwith celebrated by a brilliant victory over Sultan Mustapha II. at the bridge over the Theiss near Zenta.

Meanwhile the Venetians found it more and more difficult to maintain themselves in the Morea. Their aged general, Morosini, "the Peloponnesian," met a hero's death. Venice was therefore inclined to peace, and so were Poland and Russia, and even the emperor himself, who felt that his strength was exhausted by his two wars. In 1698, envoys of the belligerent powers met near the castle of Carlowitz, and peace was there signed in January, 1699. The Turks yielded to the emperor Hungary (with the exception of the Banat), Transylvania, and by far the greater part of Croatia and Slavonia; to the Poles, the fortress of Kamenets-Podolski; to the republic of Venice, the Morea and some fortresses in Dalmatia. An armistice for several years was arranged with Russia. Emmerich Tököly, the instigator of the war, ended his days in Asia Minor, where he was detained by the Turkish government.

The Peace of Carlowitz was the most glorious that Christian powers had ever concluded with the Porte. Turkey, which had hitherto taken the offensive, was from this time on compelled to stand on the defensive. One piece of good fortune still remained to this empire: namely, that in Hussein Köprili it had an able and energetic grand-vizier, capable of

reorganizing its army, fleet, and finances. He established not only common schools but also institutions for higher education, and was no less careful for the advancement of the morality and religion of the people.

This Turkish war had won for the house of Austria the assured position of a great power. The weakening of Turkey and the driving back of her forces enabled the Hapsburgs to interfere effectively in the affairs of the west. The whole of Hungary and Transylvania now lay at their feet and dared no longer refuse them either gold or blood. The Austro-Hungarian dominions were in extent and population little less than France, while the military and political successes of the last decades lent to the imperial house a splendor and reputation such as it had not enjoyed since the days of Charles V.

Other German territories also assumed a position of higher importance in the world in consequence of the consolidation of their various parts. Here the princes of the house of Brunswick played a leading rôle. Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover (1679–1698), by his proclamation of the right of primogeniture, put an end to the continual divisions of the Guelf lands, and introduced strict economy and excellent order into the administration of the state. Only in one direction did he show himself inclined to liberality—namely, in the furtherance of intellectual interests. In virtue of this latter trait, the court of Hanover became a rendezvous for more liberal spirits and a pattern of good manners. His well-managed finances enabled the duke to maintain an army-corps of 20,000 men, and the patriotic services of the house of Hanover in the French and Turkish wars were rewarded by the creation of a ninth electorate in favor of the Duke of Brunswick-Hanover (December, 1692).

The electoral house of Saxony was at this time decorated with a foreign kingly title. The gluttonous John George II. (1656–1680), who had attracted crowds of foreign adventurers to Dresden, and made his capital the central point for Italian and French art in Germany, had been succeeded by his warlike son, John George III. (1680–1691), who, however, was not able to restore his state to its earlier importance. His eldest son, John George IV. (1691–1694), reigned only three years. The growing indifference of the princely families of Germany in regard to matters of faith found expression in this Lutheran house of Saxony during the reign of Frederick Augustus I. (1694–1733), the brother of John George IV. Augustus the Strong (Fig. 68), a man of gigantic strength of body, but weak in intellect and in character, gladly shook himself free from the bonds of strict ecclesiasticism. When John Sobieski, King of Poland, died in 1696, the French Prince of Conti appeared as



FRIDERICVS AVGVSTVS REX POLONIARVM
ELECTOR SAXONIAE ctc. ctc.

FIG. 68.—Augustus the Strong. After an engraving by Martin Bernigeroth (1670-1733).

a candidate for his crown. The imperial court, determined to prevent the election of the Bourbon, supported Frederick Augustus of Saxony for the vacant throne. The only impediment to his candidacy was his profession of Lutheranism; but without difficulty he promised to renounce this confession, and in point of fact went over to the Catholic faith. Thereupon, chiefly by the expenditure of large sums of money and because of the threatened advance of a Saxon army-corps, Frederick Augustus was, in July, 1697, elected King of Poland, under the title of Augustus II. The election was the greatest possible misfortune for Saxony, whose well-being and whose sons were unscrupulously offered up for the utterly alien interests of Poland. The extravagance into which Augustus thought that he must plunge in his new dignity forced him to sell portions of his Saxon territories. The hereditary jurisdiction over Quedlinburg, as well as the administration of Lauenburg, Sevensberg, and Gersdorf, he disposed of to Brandenburg. The sovereignty over Schwarzburg was sold to the resident counts. Augustus, indeed, gave his assurance that he would defend Lutheranism in all its exclusive privileges in Saxony, and, on the whole, kept his pledge, while the electorate, through its ecclesiastical privy council, retained the leadership of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in the empire. Nevertheless, the defence and guidance of Protestant interests passed, practically, from the Catholicized electoral house of Saxony to the more powerful and purely German house of Brandenburg.

This house also took the interests of the Protestants in the Rhine Palatinate under its charge. The first elector of the Catholic line of Neuburg—Philip William (1685–1690)—promised not only to his subjects but also to Brandenburg that he would maintain complete religious toleration. On the whole, too, he was true to his pledge. But it was otherwise under his son and successor, the fanatical John William (1690–1716), who instituted a religious reign of terror against his Protestant subjects. In numberless places their churches were wrested from them, and in others they had to share the use of them with the Catholics. The industrious and highly cultured French refugees were driven from the land, the Protestant church properties confiscated and made over to their adversaries, and the pastors and school-teachers driven from their offices. The threats of Brandenburg served only to secure a brief respite in these illegal acts of oppression. Ultimately Brandenburg resorted to sterner measures and confiscated all the Catholic church-lands within its territories. This produced something of the desired effect, and, in 1705, John William conceded the so-called "Religious Declaration," which guaranteed the Protestants at least an

endurable existence, and restored to them a part of their plundered possessions.

At the end of the reign of the Great Elector, Brandenburg appeared as a powerful and united state. Instead of being a source of weakness to the state, the turbulent nobility of the duchy of Prussia, who had been forced by the Great Elector to submit, now sought to strengthen it by devoting their valor and their energies to its service in the army and the administration.

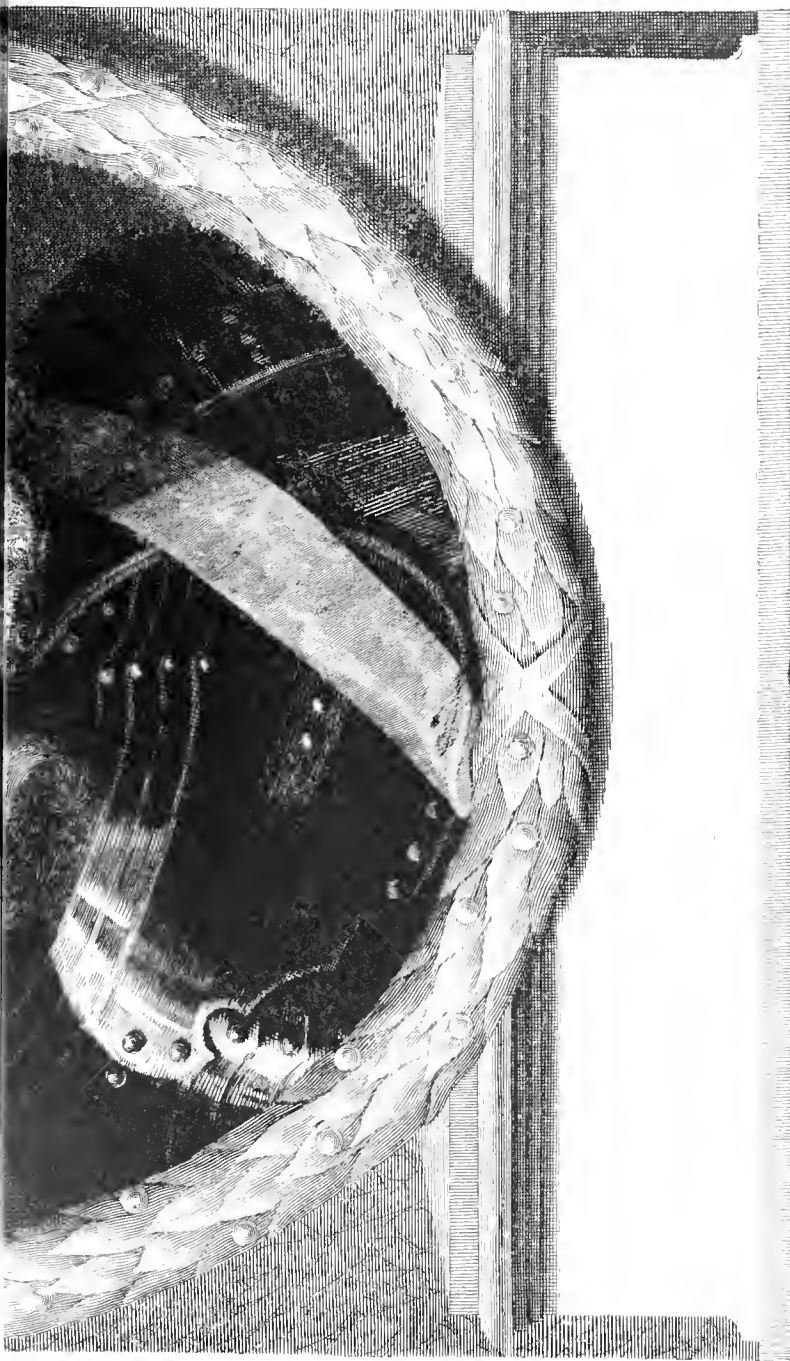
After silencing the opposition of the estates of his land, Frederick William was able to intervene with effect in European, and especially in imperial, politics. Moral, in the usual sense of the word, his conduct in this field could in no wise be called. On the contrary, no prince in Europe had so unscrupulously entered into and violated compacts. That which lay nearest his heart was to free Germany from the oppression of the foreigner—the Pole, the Swede, the Frenchman—with a view, first of all, to the advancement of his own state, which, he was resolved, should have a voice in European affairs. The difficulties with which he had to contend were numerous. His adversaries were tenfold more powerful than he; his own state was small and split up into numerous sections scattered from the Rhine to the Niemen; only envy and ill-will existed for him in the hearts of his most natural allies, the emperor and princes of the empire. Nevertheless it was he who delivered Holland in 1672, and who annihilated French ascendancy in North Germany. These were, indeed, valuable services to the cause of European freedom.

No less were his services to his own land. A judicious and thrifty administration of his finances brought his yearly income up to nearly 2,500,000 thalers—a sum that enabled him to maintain a standing army of 30,000 men. Thus, he became the creator of the renowned Prussian army, and, with it, of the unity and greatness of the Germany of our own day. He alone, amid all the German princes, conceived the idea of again calling a fleet into existence, in order to enable his land to take part in the colonization of foreign continents. Besides all this, Frederick William took deep interest in the intellectual culture of his people, founding for his Westphalian subjects the university of Duisburg. Occupied as he was with politics and war, this energetic man found leisure to assist the famous publicist, Samuel von Pufendorf, in the task of writing a history of his life and reign, and, above all, to found the first public (now the Royal) library. Art, also, was fostered by him. He sent artists, at his own expense, to study at Rome, and himself employed no less than forty-five painters and fourteen sculptors.

By the building of highways and of a canal between the Spree and

PLATE XXIII.





Frederick William, the Great Elector.

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by Philipp Kilian (1628-1693). Original painting by Matthaeus Merian, the younger (1621-1687).

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII, page 269.

house on the Silesian principalities of Jägerndorf, Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau in favor of Austria, in return for the cession of the circuit of Schwiebus. In view of this the imperial diplomacy had already (February, 1686) taken advantage of the apprehensions and constant pecuniary straits of the electoral prince, Frederick, and had obtained from him a secret agreement, in which he pledged himself to the restitution of Schwiebus, for which Leopold forthwith paid him down a moderate sum of money and assured him of imperial support after the death of his father.

In the midst of such complications the Great Elector died, May 9, 1688 (PLATE XXIII.). His successor, Frederick III., immediately endeavored to break his father's will and thus to maintain the unity of the state. In this he succeeded by the help of the able and patriotic officials of Brandenburg, who thus earned for themselves the glory of ensuring the future of Brandenburg-Prussia. Frederick himself resembled his gifted father only in his insatiable ambition. Even in science and art, which he affected especially to foster, he sacrificed the true interest of his subjects to empty glitter. The academies founded by him never attained to any vigorous life. The only artist of real merit whom he employed, the gifted Schlüter, became the victim of a miserable court-ea-bal and had to leave Berlin. Nothing was done to promote agriculture, but the larger towns were artificially developed. For the maintenance of his extravagantly magnificent court, Frederick advanced the taxes from 2,500,000 to 4,000,000 thalers yearly.

These unfortunate conditions were somewhat mitigated so long as the elector's former tutor, Eberhard von Danckelman, remained his prime minister; but his plans were everywhere crossed by the fantastic ideas of his weak master. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, he had to see his country dragged in the wake of imperial and Anglo-Dutch politics and that proud place of independence lost which it had maintained under Frederick William. Thus it was that it came out of the Peace of Ryswick empty-handed. Most unrighteously Frederick ascribed this result to Danckelman. In December, 1697, he was arrested and his property confiscated. He was detained in close confinement for seven years, and did not regain full liberty until the reign of Frederick William I. (of Prussia).

But the elector had a selfish end in view in his vassal-like subserviency to Austria. He wished to give fit expression to the importance which his father had won for the Brandenburg-Prussian state, by acquiring for its ruler the kingly title. This, however, he could claim not as ruler of the territories which he held as a prince of the

empire, but only as ruler of East Prussia, where he possessed full sovereignty.

First of all, he addressed himself to the emperor, who was then still regarded as the source of all the high dignities of Christendom. But the court of Vienna showed itself absolutely disinclined to listen to Frederick's wishes. For many years the matter stood still; at length the conditions of the times brought help to the elector. In view of the impending opening of the much disputed question of the Spanish succession, the all but friendless imperial house found itself so dependent on the support of Brandenburg that every other consideration gave way before the necessity of obtaining this aid. On November 16, 1700, before the news of the death of Charles II. had arrived, a treaty was concluded at Vienna, in accordance with which Leopold recognized the Elector of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, in consideration of a pledge of effective support in all affairs of the empire and against external foes, as well as on the condition that in all his relations to the empire he should be regarded only as Elector of Brandenburg and not as King of Prussia. With all the pomp of the times, Frederick I., at Königsberg, on January 18, 1701, placed the crown on his own head (Fig. 70).

As this more powerful German state arose in the north, thither are we to look also for the main seat of intellectual vigor. There, indeed, were to be found the miserable remains of a national literature disfigured by the senseless bombast and indecent pruriency of the so-called Second Silesian School of poetry—of a Christian von Hoffmannswaldau, a Caspar von Lohenstein, and their imitators; but there, too, the lofty figure of a Leibnitz towered in solitary grandeur high above the general intellectual indigence and degeneracy.

Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz, who was born at Leipsic in 1646, and died at Hanover in 1716, was a man of universal genius, and, of all the many fields which he entered, there was not one in which he did not trace out a new path. As a philosopher, he adopted Cartesianism, but developed this in two directions—in the direction of the natural sciences, in which great progress had been made, and in that of his deep religious feeling. From the former he borrowed the theory of atoms as the original basis of all existence; the latter compelled him to regard the atom as a living, form-giving energy and to ascribe to it an independent and ideal existence, which he named monad. The enduring effect of his philosophy rests mainly in its general idealistic tendency, in contradistinction to the partly skeptical, partly materialistic teaching of Locke, which was dominant in England and France. The whole philosophical development of Germany proceeds from Leibnitz.



FIG. 70.—Frederick I., King of Prussia. After an engraving by E. Desrochers (1693-1741); original painting by J. F. Wenzel (1670-1729).

But in many other fields this unique man was actively creative. In mathematics he placed himself on a level with Newton by the discovery of the differential calculus. In his studies for the history of the house of Guelf—in whose service he was—he inaugurated a new epoch for historiography by critically editing many hundreds of original docu-

ments of high interest, not only for the house of Hanover, but for the whole empire. In his Latin "Annals of the Empire of the West," he made the first, and for a long time the last, attempt to treat German history in a truly scientific manner. Nor was he less active in the sphere of religion and politics, wherein he devoted himself to honorable but fruitless efforts to bring about the vainly desired union between the conflicting religious parties. He was, moreover, a prolific political writer, all his productions being eminently patriotic. After he gave up all hope of reconciliation with Louis XIV., he became his determined opponent. Leibnitz was busy, too, in the interests of the house of Hanover in the matter of the English succession.

In theology, Philip Jacob Spener of Rappoltswiler in Alsace strove to liberate the life of the church from the dead literalism and formality of Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxy, and to lead it back to a religion of the heart. His disciples, under the name of "Pietists," fell, indeed, partly into hypoerisy, partly into mysticism, but they at least contributed to vindicate freedom of thought and speech for the individual. Here they came in contact with Christian Thomasius. This man (1655-1728)—like Leibnitz a native of Leipsic—was a professor in the university of his native city, and had the high merit of being the first to compose his lectures and writings in the German language, and of bringing them in this way into close touch with the national life. The Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg called him to the newly-founded university of Halle, where he soon became its most famous professor. He attacked two of the most barbarous judicial abuses of the time—torture and the prosecution of witches. The latter he combated so effectively that it soon ceased entirely in Germany, and he at least prepared the way for the abolition of torture.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, a better spirit began to manifest itself in Germany. Morality improved sensibly under more peaceful and orderly conditions. Literature, too, slowly awakened, owing partly to the same causes, and partly to the influence of France. Canitz, the writer of odes and satires, was wholly under the influence of Boileau. But side by side with this, popular poetry began to make its appearance, of which the ballad about Prince Eugene is an example. Christian Weise was the champion of the unconstrained and natural as against the artificial bombast of the second Silesian school. Finally there arose in Christian Günther a genuine poet of captivating truth of feeling and deepest poetical sensibility.

Popular poetry was once more possible in Germany only because the national feeling had reawakened. Under the influence of the Pietists

and philosophers, as well as of the tendency of the age, religious antagonisms were mitigated, and the Catholic spiritual princes especially began to distinguish themselves for toleration and enlightenment. Thus a better future slowly dawned for the heavily tried and sorely wounded Germany.

Moreover, Germany was favored by the fact that the antagonism between its two covetous neighbors, Denmark and Sweden, grew more and more bitter. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, associated, through the Oldenburg dynasty, in personal union with Denmark, had been divided in the sixteenth century between the royal line and a younger line bearing the title of Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, and in such a way that the territories of both lines lay strangely intermingled. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, under Swedish protection, soon sought to establish his complete independence of the crown of Denmark. By the compacts of 1660 and 1689, he made good his claims, and despoiled the already small Danish kingdom of important provinces. Otherwise its trade and traffic flourished under King Christian V. (1670-1699). In the year 1699 a prince full of youthful vigor, Frederick IV., ascended the Danish throne. This sovereign, resolving to coerce his rebellious cousin, Frederick of Gottorp, into submission, began a war which was destined to shake the whole north and entirely revolutionize its relations.

In Sweden the young King Charles XI. had involved himself in the unfortunate war of 1674 with Denmark and Brandenburg. The experiences of that year had filled the otherwise obstinate and self-willed spirit of this prince with a gloomy and taciturn animosity, and endowed him with a resolution and energy that disregarded material and moral obstacles. He fostered and availed himself of the bitterness of the lower classes over the intolerable tyranny of the higher nobility. A few victories gained by him in person over the Danes made him popular, and led people more and more to see that a royal dictatorship was the only means of salvation for the state. Scarcely was the war ended, when Charles, in the diets of 1680 and 1682, fully carried through the revolution for which the way had been paved in earlier diets. All the estates united with the crown against the higher nobility, and instituted a humiliating investigation of their unscrupulous doings, with the result that they were sentenced to pay several millions of rix-dollars by way of indemnification and to restore all the crown properties acquired by them since 1604. At one blow the rich Swedish nobility became poor, and the poor Swedish crown rich. Their political influence, too, was practically annihilated. The estates declared the king an unlimited sovereign, who had to submit to his council only what seemed good to him, without

being required to accept its decisions. The crown was freed from control by the diet; at the most the monarch was invited to give ear to the modest representations of the estates in regard to laws of especial importance. Thus absolute monarchy was established in Sweden.

Ruthlessly did Charles follow up his victory by a general plundering of the nobles. He extended his system also to his German territories. The Baltic, Pomeranian, and Bremen nobles were not, like the Swedish, of mushroom growth, nor had they, as the Swedes had done, aggrandized themselves through violence. But the Baltic nobility, through their constant maltreatment of the subdued Slavs and Letts, had richly deserved the injustice that now befell them. When they sent deputies to the king to protest against the violence practised on them, Charles caused these to be sentenced to death for high treason, but afterward "pardoned" them to imprisonment for life.

It must be acknowledged that Charles employed only for the good of his state the power and resources thus acquired. The administration—especially of the finances—was thoroughly reformed, so that he was able to maintain an excellent standing army of 60,000 men. A spirit of rigorous and stern control pervaded every department. Every religion except the Lutheran was forbidden on pain of severe penalties. Abroad, Charles observed neutrality, so that his land might recover from the results of seventy years of warfare. Yet he would not submit to insults. In 1689 he was ready to draw the sword in defence of his ally, the Duke of Gottorp, when Denmark submitted. Hard, stubborn, often unjust, he knew no other interests than those of his state. He died in April, 1697, in the forty-second year of his age.

His son, Charles XII., was then only fifteen years old. He had not received a very careful secular education, but a rigorous religious one. His inclinations led him to military studies and occupations. With the help of the high nobility he got rid of the regency of his mother, and caused himself to be forthwith declared of age by the diet. But the nobles had deceived themselves in regard to the new king. He rejected all their demands, and remained constant to the autocratic principles of his father. At the coronation he himself placed the crown on his head, and avoided taking the usual oath to the constitution. Of strict morality and of iron strength of will, he shunned women and even indulgence in spirituous liquors. But otherwise the beginning of his rule by no means justified his impatience in undertaking it. His early zeal for business soon flagged, and he squandered in wild exploits, foolhardy adventures, and childish amusements the public funds that his father had accumulated.

Neighboring states now thought that the time had come to give active expression to their hatred and envy of Sweden. Three powerful adversaries armed themselves for war against the boy-king—Frederick IV. of Denmark, Augustus II. of Poland, and Peter of Russia.

The Czar Alexis had taken advantage of the straits into which Poland had been driven by the attack of Charles X. of Sweden to make important conquests in its provinces of Lithuania and Little Russia. He next cast his eyes on the Baltic provinces of Sweden, which practically shut out his kingdom from access to the Baltic and to the civilized west. He concluded a truce, therefore, with Poland, and attacked these territories, only to have to renounce them in the Peace of Cardis. More fortunate was his peace with Poland. At Andrussoff (1667) the republic ceded to the czar Smolensk, Tchernigoff, and Sewerien, as well as the greater part of the country of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, and Kieff, on the right bank of the Dnieper. John Casimir, in 1668, abdicated, but his successor, Michael Wisznowiecki, was no less helpless, and suffered the most ignominious defeats at the hands of the Turks. Fortunately, he died (1673), and the heroic John Sobieski inaugurated somewhat better times. After his death (1696), Poland was nothing more than a foot-ball for foreign powers, and Austrian influence, backed up by boundless bribery, placed Augustus II. on the throne.

To Russia, the acquisition of the sacred patriarchal seat, Kieff, and the land of the Cossacks was of especial value. From that time on the Cossacks of the Ukraine recognized the czars as their overlords. Alexis prepared the way for the reforms of Peter the Great by introducing a number of foreign—especially German—officers into his service, in order to organize a regular standing army, the *streltsi* or militia having proved utterly unsatisfactory. In religious matters also, Alexis favored rational and enlightened progress, and, in the great council of the whole Greek church, which he convoked at Moscow in 1666, carried his measures. The dominant church had to submit to the protecting authority of the state.

Alexis was succeeded in 1676 by his eldest son, Feodor III. This young prince went courageously forward on the path of reform. He abolished the hereditary nobility of service, and thus broke through the last barrier on the road to absolute authority and to radical reforms in the state and social life. After Feodor III., also, had thus contributed to prepare the way for a still greater czar, he died childless at the age of twenty-one, leaving two brothers, Ivan and Peter. As Ivan was feeble both in body and mind, he was induced to renounce the crown in favor of his younger brother, Peter, then ten years old, whose mother,

Natalia Narischkin, undertook the regency. But Peter's half-sister Sophia wrested the government from Natalia, and excluded the young czar from any real power. Peter lived almost in seclusion, occupying himself zealously with his studies and the improvement of his body-guard. As he grew up, his firm bearing gained him many adherents, and he collected around him a numerous band of trustworthy partisans to antagonize Sophia, who, deserted by nearly all, had no alternative but to submit. She was shut up in a monastery and her chief adherents banished.

Thus, in 1689, did the Czar Peter become sole ruler at the age of seventeen. He forthwith set to work to introduce into Russia the culture of the west. It was the same task to which his two predecessors had addressed themselves, but it was now taken up and carried through with all the strength of genius and of an iron will. First, the troops were disciplined after the European fashion. Dutch carpenters were introduced to build a navy and merchant ships, Peter being much among them to learn their craft. Strict police-laws were enforced. Harbors were desired, from which the rich productions of the country could be exported; but at that time Archangel was the only Russian seaport. Peter took part in the war of Austria against the Porte, and seized Azov, which he strongly fortified, thus securing access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. A conspiracy of the old Russian nobles and *streltsi*, instigated by Sophia, was frustrated by the czar in person and punished with barbarous cruelty.

In 1697 he undertook his first great journey to the west. At Zaandam in Holland he worked as a ship-carpenter, but did not omit to scan with eager eye all scientific and industrial institutions in that country. With the same aims he visited England, whence he returned by way of Vienna to Russia. Here the *streltsi*, incited by the priesthood, had for a third time revolted against him and his innovations, but by the time of his return they had already been subdued. Many thousands of them, however, were executed—some by the czar's own hand. In 1700 he altogether disbanded the corps of the *streltsi*, and substituted for them a regularly recruited, drilled, and organized military force. He introduced European amusements, and sent abroad many young Russians of all classes, to study science and art, and to learn useful crafts. He completely reorganized the finances, and, in short, his wondrous energy made itself felt on all sides.

Peter (PLATE XXIV.) felt the most urgent need of easy and close communication by sea with civilized countries. Like his father, he hoped to find this at the cost of Sweden. He therefore entered into the

PLATE XXIV





Peter the Great.

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by Jacobus Houbraken (1698-1780).

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII., page 276.

alliance which Patkul, a Livonian nobleman, a fugitive from the violence of Charles XI., sought to organize. Already this extremely able diplomat had found a friendly reception with the gifted, but sanguine and restless, politician Flemming, the chief minister of Augustus II. In the autumn of 1699, Flemming concluded an offensive alliance with Denmark against Sweden. Patkul induced the czar to join this league. Poland was to receive Livonia and Esthonia; Russia, any means of access to the Baltic that she wished.

A threatening storm was thus gathering in the northeast of Europe, while the whole west and south was shaken by a mighty conflict, which threatened with complete overthrow the proud structure built up by Louis XIV.

CHAPTER X

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

TOWARD the end of the seventeenth century, the sole male representative of the Spanish Hapsburgs was King Charles II., a prince weak both in body and in intellect, who, from the first day of his nominal reign, had been the puppet of court parties and cabals. After the death of his half-brother, Don John of Austria, in 1679, the Queen-mother Maria Anna and, with her, the Austrian influence again acquired the ascendancy in Madrid. Charles's wife, Marie Louise of Orleans, niece of Louis XIV., was utterly neglected by her husband. The question of the succession soon produced discord between the queen-mother and Austria.

The Emperor Leopold I. had by his Spanish wife, Margaret, only one daughter, Maria Antonia. He gave her in marriage to Maximilian Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria, but not till she had renounced her claim to the Spanish crown in favor of her half-brothers, the sons of the emperor by another marriage. This act was regarded in Spain as invalid, inasmuch as it had not been sanctioned by the Cortes. Anna Maria herself stood on the side of her granddaughter, the Electress of Bavaria. In spite of all the opposition of the imperial court, Maximilian Emmanuel, a clear-sighted, brave, and amiable man, was made governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Here he inaugurated a government that contrasted most favorably with the misrule in the other provinces, and was likely to gain for him the confidence of all Spanish patriots. If commerce and manufactures were at a low ebb in Belgium by reason of the jealousy and the restrictive measures of Holland, husbandry and the ordinary handicrafts and, with these, the number of the inhabitants had made a most gratifying advance. But a new event revived the hopes of Austria. Marie Louise died, and Charles II. took for a second wife Maria Anna of Pfalz-Neuburg, a sister of the empress. She restored the preponderance to the Austrian party proper in Madrid, especially as the friend of Bavaria, the queen-mother, died in 1696. Had the emperor sent a corps of troops into Catalonia at this time to defend it against the French, his younger son, the Archduke Charles, might then have been proclaimed successor to the throne. But the emperor did not think it

necessary for the carrying out of his plans to lend to Spain the aid of which she stood in sore need.

Although sickly from his youth, Charles II. possessed a wonderful hold on life, and might, under rational treatment, have lived a long time. But the quacks, who were entrusted with his cure, as well as the insalubrious air of Madrid, completely undermined his constitution. Since his mother's death his second wife, the Neuburg princess, had been his guide. And yet her passionate, unstable character little qualified her for such a rôle. The Spaniards disliked her for her overbearing manner and her unwise preference for her German lady-in-waiting, the Hessian von Berlepsch.

But the native nobles were not more capable or patriotic than the foreigners. The grandees saw in the state only a proper object for plunder. Their estates they scarcely ever visited, but led a dissolute, riotous, and yet often a needy life in Madrid. The lower nobles were as immoderately numerous as poor, and were simply the beggarly drones of society. Population diminished with alarming rapidity. About the middle of the fifteenth century, Spain numbered over 12,000,000 souls; she had now but 5,700,000. The clergy, several hundred thousand strong, alone flourished. Manufactures and commerce, in so far as they were not carried on by foreigners, were extinct, except in Barcelona. The income of the state had sunk to 30,000,000 reals, or some \$4,750,000 of our present money, and the larger part of this paltry sum disappeared in the hands of grandees and officials, as unscrupulous as they were incapable. The army received no pay, the lower state servants only two-thirds of their salaries, and that irregularly, and the fleet ceased to exist. The whole machinery of government was often on the point of coming to a standstill. Beggars and robber-bands multiplied alarmingly. In the cities, murders were of common occurrence and went unpunished. The one minister who made an attempt at reform—Oropesa—was overthrown by the queen.

Thus it happened that in the War of the Second Coalition there was not a single tenable fortification in the peninsula, while the army numbered only 8000 half-naked, starving vagabonds. Deserted by the Emperor Leopold, the Spaniards suffered more and more grievous losses at the hands of the French. But this selfish attitude of the imperial court increased the dislike in which it was held in Spain. Although there was not yet any French party proper, there was already an anti-Austrian party, whose aims were the speedy conclusion of peace with France and the securing of the succession for the Bavarian electoral prince, the son of Maximilian Emmanuel and the lately deceased Maria Antonia. To this

party belonged nearly all the *grandees* and members of the council of state, and its leader was the primate of the Spanish church, the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Porto-Carrero.

The fall of Barcelona (August, 1697) secured the temporary victory of this party, and, in spite of the opposition of the imperial government, the Spanish plenipotentiary signed the treaty of peace in Ryswick. Louis XIV. showed himself complaisant and accommodating, and gave to Spain not only all her latest conquests, but also Luxemburg. This was to have extraordinary importance for the future. There was left but one means by which Austria might secure for herself at least the main part of the Spanish monarchy—namely, the immediate dispatch of some 12,000 imperial troops to keep the ill-disposed in check and defend provisionally the Pyrenean frontier against any attack from France. But the emperor declined to bear the expense of such an expedition. In vain were all the warnings of his Spanish friends, who urged him to concentrate all his strength on the question of the succession, and conclude peace with the Turks at any price.

The Marquis of Harcourt, the new French ambassador, thus found the ground excellently prepared for him in Madrid, and he knew how to make the most of the situation. He had considerable gold at his disposal, while the representatives of the emperor lived in groveling poverty. Porto-Carrero was now fully won over for France, and took advantage of a severe illness of the king to declare to him that his condition was a judgment from heaven because of the bad government of the queen. The monarch believed the statement of the priest that his wife was responsible for this, and from that time forth the queen lost almost all influence. Her enemy, Oropesa, was recalled from exile and appointed prime minister (March, 1698). This was an evil omen for the imperial cause.

Meanwhile the other European cabinets were busily occupied with the question of the Spanish succession, and this from the standpoint of the "balance of power," then the ideal of statesmen. If either France or Austria received the whole Spanish succession, she would become too powerful, and would be a menace to the liberties of Europe. William III., therefore, would have preferred to see the whole Spanish monarchy conferred on the electoral prince of Bavaria. But it was not to be supposed that France and Austria would consent to such a settlement, for they must, at least, have a share. To the national longings of the Spaniards, that the integrity of their glorious monarchy might be preserved, little regard was paid, and nearly as little to the claims of the emperor. In October, 1698, England and Holland concluded with

Louis XIV. the so-called First Partition Treaty, by which the electoral prince received Spain proper, the Catholic Netherlands, and the colonies; Louis, Spanish Lower Italy and the Pyrenean province of Guipúzcoa; while the emperor had to content himself with the duchy of Milan.

The difficulty now was to get the consent of the emperor and of Spain to this arrangement. The Spaniards would not agree to such a dismemberment of their empire. Urged on from all sides, Charles II. himself appeared in the council of state and declared with firmness that he had decided to name his grand-nephew, the electoral prince, as his successor. A will to this effect was published, and the Spanish nation exulted with patriotic enthusiasm over this decision.

But on February 6, 1699, the electoral prince died. The French and Austrian claims now confronted each other in direct antagonism. For poor Charles II. there remained only the question whether he should prefer his weaker relative or his threatening and powerful neighbor. Intimidated by the threats of France, and with the view of maintaining the empire in its integrity, most of the *grandees* went over to the French party, while the queen and her adherents joined the party of the emperor.

It must be confessed that the claims of Louis XIV. were at first of a moderate nature. His proposals to the English government were, that he was prepared to leave Spain to the young archduke, if he himself should receive Guipúzcoa, Navarre, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands, besides Savoy and Lorraine, whose dukes should be indemnified by receiving Milan and Sicily. But the power of France would, by this arrangement, have been immoderately augmented.

William III. did not conceal from himself the danger involved in these proposals to his life-work—the securing of the liberties of Europe against the power of France. Nevertheless, he believed that it was necessary to accede to them. With difficulty he induced Louis to renounce his claims to the Spanish Netherlands, with the exception of Luxemburg, which Louis was resolved to have at all hazards. Then, at the end of 1699 and beginning of 1700, a new Partition Treaty was signed by France, England, and Holland, which violated the interests of Spain even more unscrupulously than the former treaty had done.

The emperor of course rejected it. But he had done nothing to strengthen his party in Madrid, and, besides, after the Peace of Carlowitz, had very considerably reduced his army. The Spanish *grandees* gave up his cause one by one, and went over to Louis XIV., and among these deserters was Cardinal Porto-Carrero. Then the populace of Madrid, at the instigation of the queen's enemies, rose in insurrection in April, 1699,

and brought about the dismissal and banishment of Oropesa, whom thirteen months before they had hailed as a saviour. The conduct of affairs then passed over to Porto-Carrero and his partisans. The cardinal-primate, supported by the favor of the masses and the whole influence of the clergy, removed from the council of state all his adversaries and filled every office of importance with his creatures. When, in the summer of 1699, reports began to be spread abroad regarding the contemplated new Partition Treaty, the wrath of the Spaniards was directed not against Louis XIV., but against the naval powers, who arranged the dismemberment of Spain without asking the consent of the people. Diplomatic relations with England were broken off, and a sharp protest against the partition was submitted to all the courts of Europe.

Louis was joyfully surprised by the effect produced in Madrid by the news of the meditated partition, and began an unscrupulous double game. Harcourt was to influence the Spanish grandees in favor of a French prince as the successor to the throne, while Marshal Tallard in London was to complete the negotiations for the partition.

When their conclusion was made known officially, in May, 1700, to the Spanish representative in Paris, Charles II. felt deeply hurt. He addressed two autograph letters to the emperor, asking him to aid him with his counsel as well as with a liberal subsidy. In return for this, he promised to preserve the monarchy in its integrity for the archducal house. But from Vienna there came no decisive response.

Louis acted differently. He spoke threateningly in Madrid, recalled Harcourt, dispatched more troops to the Pyrenees, and called on the naval powers for the stipulated aid.

Charles II. now hesitated. Porto-Carrero persuaded the king to call on the most eminent jurists of Spain and the magistrates of the leading cities for their opinions. These were all in favor of the French prince. It was, in fact, the voice of the nation. Greatly troubled in conscience, Charles, at the instigation of Porto-Carrero, applied for counsel to the pope. The attitude of Louis to the Vatican had become altogether changed since the beginning of the last decade, and he had fully gained the favor of Innocent XII. Therefore the view of Rome was, that the Spanish monarchy could be maintained in its integrity only through the support of France. The pope and cardinals approved the opinion of the Spanish counselors, for this was based on the necessity of maintaining the unity and integrity of the state through the only means by which this end could be attained.

Charles II. resisted no longer. In the beginning of October, 1700, he reluctantly executed a testament, in which he declared Duke Philip

of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin, his successor in all the domains of the Spanish crown, stipulating, however, that these should never at any time be incorporated with France. Only four weeks later—on November 1, 1700—he died. The testament was now published, and was hailed with exultation throughout Spain. Men regarded the monarchy as rescued, and Porto-Carrero appeared at the head of the provisional government, which invited Philip of Anjou to take possession of the crown of Spain and the two Indies.

It was to a decision of far-reaching historical import that Louis XIV. now summoned his princes and highest officials. Without doubt, the French king was bound by the terms of the Second Partition Treaty. His eldest grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, as well as Tallard, and even his foreign minister, the Marquis de Torey, earnestly counseled the monarch to remain true to his engagements, and to devote himself to the reform of abuses in the interior rather than to plunge the state into new and measureless perils, especially as it was to be hoped that the emperor would accede to the Partition Treaty. But the whole professed consultation was a farce, for Louis and the dauphin had already made up their minds to accept the testament of Charles II.

The king and his courtiers shed tears of joy over this unprecedented success. With true judgment the Spanish ambassador exclaimed: "There are no longer any Pyrenees." Louis had, in point of fact, no thought of letting his grandson enjoy full independence, but regarded him rather as a sort of viceroy, whose function it was to hold the strength of Spain at the disposal of France. When Philip V. entered on his rule in the beginning of 1701, he conformed in every respect to the views of his grandfather. No affair of importance was decided on without the concurrence of Versailles. The Spanish ministers in Madrid were gradually replaced by French; governors and viceroys were directed to obey the orders of His Most Christian Majesty as if they were issued by Philip himself. In Belgium every official received instructions to obey no order of the Spanish ministers unless it plainly harmonized with the behests and wishes of the French king. Louis XIV. gave direct instructions to the Spanish ambassadors at foreign courts.

All things seemed to conform to the ambitious views of Louis XIV. The Catholic Netherlands were ruled, as we have seen, by Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria as Spanish viceroy. He was a brave man, but unreliable, and ambitious far beyond his resources, and he had long ago fallen out with the court of Vienna over the question of the Spanish succession. He had therefore no hesitation in allying himself with France, receiving a promise of all the new conquests to be made from Austria and of the

Rhine Palatinate, which belonged to his cousins of Neuburg. The Elector of Cologne and two other princes of the empire, the Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, indignant at the preference shown by the emperor for the younger Hanoverian line of their house, went over to France.

Spanish Italy, like Belgium, was on the side of the Bourbons. The Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, neighbors of the duchy of Milan, had long ago been won over. A French army of 20,000 men now advanced unimpeded into Milan, where the governor, Prince Vaudemont, prepared for them a cordial reception. The new pope, Clement XI., devoted to France from his youth up, also recognized Philip V., who was proclaimed in Naples and Sicily also without opposition. Finally Portugal, pleased to see its independence again guaranteed by the will of Charles II., pledged itself to defend the testament against every assailant.

At the same time Louis took his own measures of precaution. A new property-tax enabled him to increase his forces in the field to 200,000 men, to which his allies could add from 60,000 to 80,000. No one expected that Austria, any more than England and Holland, would dare to disturb the peace.

But people deceived themselves. Roused from his phlegmatic security, the Emperor Leopold showed an energy such as he had never before manifested. Italy and Belgium, at least, he would maintain. Leopold entered his protest against the Spanish testament and ordered his troops to advance into Milanese territory.

Louis would have made short work with the emperor, but he had also to reckon with William III., who was fired with indignation at France's shameless breach of the Partition Treaty. The disinclination of England and Holland to a new war placed restrictions on him and he was well-nigh sunk in despair, when Louis XIV. himself came to his relief. His new successes had wiped the experiences of the last ten years quite out of the memory of the French king, and he was now conducting himself with all the arrogance of his younger years. In spite of the warnings of the circumspect and well-informed Tallard, his ambassador in London, he was firmly convinced that England's finances were irretrievably disorganized, that its people longed for absolute peace, and that William had lost all his influence there. Believing that he had nothing to fear from this side, Louis invoked a general war.

In accordance with a compact between Holland and Spain, and with a view to the security of the Netherlands, the South Belgian fortresses were occupied as "barrier places" by Dutch garrisons. Louis, by an arrangement with the elector-governor, suddenly ordered troops to advance,

and in one night they surprised and captured the unsuspecting Dutch garrisons. The French king asserted that he was threatened by the republic. Deserted by England, Holland ventured on no resistance, and ransomed her regiments by giving up her right of occupation and acknowledging Philip V. But her clear-sighted statesmen—above all, the grand pensionary Heinsius—agreed with William that such outrages were not to be endured. William III. nominally recognized Philip V., and then he and Heinsius set out adroitly and systematically to form a great alliance against France. In the first instance, they opened negotiations at The Hague with France regarding guarantees for the future security of the republic. The maritime powers demanded the immediate recall of the French troops from Belgium and a better guaranteed and more extended right of occupation and fortification there for Holland, with a similar right for England in the Belgian seaports Nieuport and Ostend; and, further, for the subjects of England and Holland the same commercial privileges in Spain as Frenchmen enjoyed. Finally Louis and Philip were required to give binding declarations that the French and Spanish monarchies should never be united, as well as to indemnify the emperor for his hereditary claims by ceding him some portion of Spanish territory.

The demands were so moderate and at the same time so much in harmony with the national interests of England and Holland that the representatives of the latter state actually concluded to place an army of 103,000 men in the field to support them. But England presented a very different picture. In accordance with the instructions of his king, Tallard left no stone unturned to inflame the nation against William's ambition and desire for war. In point of fact, the Lower House showed the very worst disposition; and, when Louis rejected all the demands of the naval powers, the House of Commons voted their king for the equipment of an army the ridiculously inadequate sum of £300,000. But Louis overstepped the mark. His insults to the English envoys at The Hague and his overbearing demeanor so embittered the public spirit of England that the Tories could no longer refuse to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, and to promise to support the king in the maintenance of European freedom (May, 1701).

While in the domain of politics proper the antagonism between the maritime powers and France grew sharper and sharper, in that of commerce war had already virtually broken out. Instead of conceding to the Dutch and English the commercial privileges so solemnly guaranteed to them in the Second Partition Treaty, measures were taken in France by which they were to be completely excluded from traffic with the Spanish

colonies. The Tory majority in the Commons was forced by public opinion to assume a warlike attitude and to consent to William's breaking off the purposeless conference at The Hague, in July, 1701. He was even able to enter upon negotiations with the emperor and to promise to aid him in acquiring Belgium and the Spanish provinces in Italy. On such conditions the emperor, England, and Holland, on September 7, 1701, signed at The Hague the "Grand Alliance," which set German and Roman Europe over against each other in firmly closed ranks.

Still England and Holland were through this alliance simply allies of the emperor, and that only for special ends, without their being directly at war with France. That this, however, came to pass, and that William was finally able to cast the whole strength of England into the balance, Louis had again to thank no one but himself. To punish England for her entrance into the Grand Alliance, he forbade the importation of English manufactures and the products of her mines, England's staple articles of export, and, after the death of James II. (September, 1701), he recognized his son of the same name as King of England, Scotland and Ireland.

But his hopes of terrifying the English through such means were utterly disappointed. Englishmen regarded the recognition of the Stuart as a deadly insult and a blow at their national independence. Even zealous Jacobites placed themselves for a time on the side of William. A flood of loyal addresses poured in upon William, who now reaped the fruit of his wise, bold, but circumspect policy. He improved the occasion with his wonted adroitness, and dissolved Parliament. The new elections resulted in a decided victory for the king and his party. Parliament voted an army of 40,000 men, a fleet of 100 ships of the line, and subsidies wherewith to hire Danish and German troops.

In the midst of this, his final triumph, William was injured by a fall from his horse, and died on March 19, 1702. The last descendant of the great William the Silent, who established the freedom of the Northern Netherlands, had saved and ensured the freedom not of England only but of all Europe.

His sister-in-law, Anne, was acknowledged as Queen of England (Fig. 71), and forthwith issued the formal declaration of war against France.

Meanwhile the war had begun a year before, when, in May, 1701, Eugene of Savoy, at the head of 30,000 imperial troops, boldly pressed into hostile Italy, where he found himself confronted by the able and experienced Marshal Catinat, with a stronger force. Eugene was able to keep his enemy completely in the dark in regard to the way by which

he meant to burst forth from the Tyrolese mountains, so that Catinat distributed his army in detachments on the roads leading down from the various passes. Then the prince suddenly led his regiments by mountain-paths never before traversed by an army, and, making a detour round the French troops, entered the plain of Cremona. When, in order to meet Eugene's confusing movements, Catinat divided his troops, Eugene attacked and completely defeated the corps under Count Tessé



FIG. 71.—Queen Anne of England. After a drawing by John Smith (1654-after 1727); original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1616-1723).

at Carpi (July 9). Catinat was compelled to retreat, and Eugene drove him back over the Oglio.

Louis, accustomed to look down upon the imperial troops, was not slow in ascribing these disasters to Catinat's incapacity, who, on account of his free manner of speech, was already in disfavor at Versailles. He was recalled and replaced by the favorite, Villeroy, a submissive slave of Madame de Maintenon, but not qualified by natural capacity, knowl-

edge, or temper for the difficult position. Reinforced by thirty-two fresh battalions, which made his numbers twice those of the enemy, he attacked the latter with foolhardy impetuosity (September 1, 1701) in their well-fortified position near Chiari, and was beaten back with severe loss. He looked on while Eugene occupied the whole territory of Mantua, except the strongly-fortified capital, and thereupon Modena and Mirandola turned to the side of the emperor. These victories produced a profound impression throughout all Europe, and undoubtedly contributed much to the final formation of the Grand Alliance.

Early in 1702 Eugene was again in the field. In February he executed a little exploit quite in keeping with his chivalric nature. He took Marshal Villeroy out from the hostile fortress of Cremona and made him prisoner. Thereupon the French withdrew behind the Adda. But Eugene's bold stroke had this evil effect, that a true general—Duke Louis of Vendôme—now came to take command of the French army in Upper Italy. This illegitimate descendant of Henry IV. was a man of enterprising and enduring spirit, and was warmly attached to his soldiers, who, in return, were enthusiastically devoted to him. His task was much lightened by the fact that he commanded 80,000 French, Spanish, and Piedmontese troops, while Eugene had at his disposal only 30,000 men. In vain did the latter ply the emperor with appeals for reinforcements. He was unable to prevent the French from relieving Mantua and reconquering Modena. He then attacked the enemy at Luzzara (August, 1702), but the fight remained undecided. Eugene was able, however, to maintain himself behind the Adda. Thus Vendôme's plan of driving the imperialists entirely out of Italy had miscarried, but as little success had crowned Eugene's efforts.

It was fortunate for the empire that the war now spread beyond the limits of Italy and that the allies were brought into action. With the death of the last direct descendant of the house of Orange, the dignity of stadtholder came to an end in the Netherlands. But Heinsius resolutely conducted the external politics of the republic in the path marked out by William III. The free Netherlands were now threatened by the power of France both from Belgium and Cologne. The maritime powers succeeded in winning over nearly all the princes of the empire by rich subsidies. The most powerful of them all, the covetous but weak Frederick I. of Prussia, while bound by treaty to place only 8000 men at the emperor's disposal, hired out his whole admirable army to the naval powers to be employed at their discretion. No wonder that, although he placed 30,000 men at the service of the coalition, he was treated merely as a mercenary, and had no voice in the conduct of the

war. Denmark and Saxony, also, were imperialist, but the latter was of no help to the coalition, on account of her conflict with Sweden. Sweden herself, which under Charles XI. had turned her back on Versailles after the Peace of Nimwegen, had, through the adroit management of the French ambassador d'Avaux and the free use of gold, been pledged to friendly neutrality.

The war in Germany began with a fortunate operation against the disloyal Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. On the mandate of the emperor, regiments from Hanover and Celle invaded their territories, dispersed their troops, and occupied their fortresses (March, 1702), so that both dukes were forced to submit. In like manner, the archbishopric of Cologne was taken possession of by Prussian and Dutch troops. But of much greater importance were the successes in the Netherlands, where Marlborough commanded the allies.

John Churchill, Earl, and afterward Duke, of Marlborough, was born in 1650 of a royalist Cavalier family. His first advancement was due to the fact that his eldest sister was mistress of the Duke of York, afterward James II. He climbed with celerity the ladder of military dignities, while he was studying his art in the school of Turenne and Condé. Returning to court, the young colonel won the favor of Sarah Jennings, the favorite lady-in-waiting of the Princess Anne. By his marriage with this lady, as remarkable for her wit and talents as for her personal beauty, his prosperity was assured. Laden with honors and dignities by James, Churchill was the first of the higher officers to desert him and enter the Orange camp, while his wife counseled the Princess Anne to take the same step. In payment for his treason, he was created Earl of Marlborough by William, and served under that monarch with great distinction against the French in the Netherlands. We know that he also betrayed William and was arrested for high treason in 1692. But the charge was not established, and in view of the impending war with France, William, conscious of his endowments, restored to him his military dignities. With Queen Anne, he was, through his wife, in the highest favor. For Lord Godolphin, the father-in-law of his daughter, he secured the position of lord high treasurer and prime minister of England (1702).

As a general, Marlborough (Fig. 72) was without an equal in devising military plans complicated yet easily carried out, and possessed presence of mind and keenness of glance on the field of battle. But he had to struggle with serious difficulties. The Dutch States-General would not give up their influence over their 60,000 mercenaries, and sent, therefore, field-deputies into the camp, without whose concurrence these



FIG. 72. Marlborough. After a drawing by E. C. Heiss (died 1731; original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller 1646-1723).

troops could not be moved. Utterly ignorant of military matters, these deputies had no other thought than that of defending their own frontiers, and, at the most, capturing a few Belgian fortresses as "barriers." Anxious above all things for a decisive engagement, Marlborough was nevertheless compelled to content himself with the capture of Venlo and some other fortresses on the Meuse, as well as the conquest of the bishopric of Liège, while the Prussians made themselves masters of the territory of Cologne as far as Bonn. The Cologne estates immediately joined the emperor, while the elector, Joseph Clement, fled to his brother in the Netherlands.

The allies were superior to the French on the Upper Rhine also. The Archduke Joseph, the eldest son of the emperor, a man in the prime of life, compelled the extremely strong Landau, then belonging to Alsace, to surrender. Another success for Leopold was the declaration of war by the empire against Louis XIV. This was what he had long striven to bring about, but in vain, till an outrage on the part of Maximilian Emmanuel came to his help. Without any preliminary declaration of hostilities, this elector fell upon the imperial city of Ulm, and forced it to receive a Bavarian garrison. All Germany was indignant at this breach of the peace, and under the impression produced by it the diet at Ratisbon declared war on France and her allies (September, 1702). But the troops of the empire were not yet ready for action, and the attack of the Bavarian elector made necessary a division of the imperial forces in South Germany. Thus the whole military situation was changed, and the conquest of Alsace was no longer to be thought of. An undecided battle at Friedlingen, which the gray-haired Field-marshal Louis of Baden fought against Marshal Villars, at least hindered the intended junction of the latter with the Bavarians.

The struggle had led to no decisive result in 1702, but its consequences were felt in the interior of the lands, where all the discontented could raise their heads so long as the armies stood on the frontiers. In this way Louis's religious intolerance brought punishment on his own head. In the barren, rocky valleys of the Cévennes in Southern France there lived numerous descendants of the Waldensians, who, from the sixteenth century on, had for the most part been adherents of the Reformed faith. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had stricken this people severely. The result was a revolt in 1689, which was suppressed in blood. But now several assassinations of royal officials, especially of tax-collectors, inaugurated a more comprehensive and energetic rising. Their cruel persecution had stirred the fanaticism of these mountaineers to an energy of the gloomiest character. The struggle began with the

massacre of the Abbé du Chailu and his assistants, in July, 1702. At the head of the insurgents appeared a certain Jean Cavalier, a simple baker boy, but a born general. This youth of twenty overthrew the veterans of ten campaigns. "Camisards" (shirt-people) was the name by which his bands were known, from the white smocks which they wore as a mark of recognition. Pursued as they had been with unrelenting cruelty, they, in turn, knew nothing of forbearance, and avenged themselves with inexorable fanaticism on the Catholic population, especially on the clergy and teachers. In the beginning of 1703 they dominated the country round Nîmes, wasted with fire forty parishes, and murdered eighty priests. The king had to send against them a regular army under Marshal de Montrevel, a former Huguenot, who butchered them with all the hatred of a renegade. But they knew how to elude him constantly amid their inaccessible mountains and through their understanding with all the secret Protestants of the land, and even occasionally to take terrible revenge. The worst of all was that the powers of the coalition began to make use of these effective allies against the French monarch.

But if the revolt of the Camisards was a peril for Louis XIV., his enemies were hampered still more by an occurrence of a somewhat similar character.

After the weakening and humiliation of Turkey through the Peace of Carlowitz, the imperial government had resumed its system of religious and political oppression in the Hungarian lands, with redoubled force and disregard of the law. Even the Catholics were despoiled of their church properties; all offices were filled with Germans; a supreme court was constituted outside of Hungary; the soldiers and officials were left free to act as they pleased, and all complaints against them were refused a hearing. The universal discontent soon found a distinguished and energetic exponent in Francis Rákóczy, who—grandson of a rebel—had been, in spite of his loyal behavior, treated as a suspect and thrown into prison, from which he had managed to escape, and had then collected a band of insurgents in Poland. His main supporter was Count Nicholas Berseényi, an intrepid, but foolhardy man, who gave the imperialists much trouble. As the forces of the emperor were fully occupied on the Rhine and the Adda, the insurgents got possession of nearly all Hungary and Transylvania, the Protestants in particular streaming to their banners. In November, 1703, Rákóczy concluded a treaty with Louis XIV., who promised him help in money.

In his own kingdom, also, the latter was straining every nerve to repel his enemies, and had devised a plan of campaign on a grand scale.

The army of the Netherlands, under Villeroi, was to stand on the defensive, while Villars, with the army of the Rhine, and Tallard, with the newly organized force on the Moselle, were to advance into Bavaria and form a junction with Maximilian Emmanuel, to whom Vendôme was likewise to hold out a hand with a part of his troops in the Tyrol. With this superior strength the intention was to strike a decisive blow at the hereditary lands of the emperor, and thus to bring the whole war to a close in a way glorious for Louis and profitable for Bavaria. The rising in Hungary promised to facilitate the execution of the plan.

With terror Leopold saw the storm gathering around him on all sides. Although, at heart, he dreaded Prince Eugene's intellectual superiority, in his straits he was forced to appoint him president of the council of war. Even from the Netherlands there came no relief, for again Marlborough saw himself hampered in his plans by the mistrust and excessive caution of the Dutch field-deputies. After the capture of Bonn, the last of the Cologne fortresses, the English general, in consideration of the serious state of matters in the empire, deemed it more than ever necessary to make an energetic attack on Villeroi, in order to bring about a diversion of the French forces toward the north. But he sought in vain to carry the Dutch generals along with him, and finally one of them, Obdam, let himself be surprised and defeated by Boufflers at Ekeren (June, 1703). Now a flood of suspicions and accusations against Marlborough burst forth in Holland, and, with the declared determination of never resuming the command under the old conditions, the great general at the end of the year returned to England.

It was France alone that the Portuguese had to thank for their liberation from the yoke of Spain, and Louis availed himself of the fact to treat them very much like vassals. The prosperity of the little kingdom depended largely on two conditions: first, English goods interdicted from entrance into the Spanish colonies were wont to be introduced into Portugal and from here smuggled into Spain for transmission to America; and, secondly, the wines of Portugal found their best market in England. On the maritime powers threatening hostilities, an organized rising against the government broke out in Lisbon in the summer of 1702. The king, Don Pedro II., in dismay, declared himself ready to join the naval powers, but only on condition that they, by a direct attack on Spain, should overthrow the Bourbon monarchy and protect him against future revenge.

The condition of Spain promised success to such an undertaking. King Philip was a perfect nonentity; his minister, Porto-Carrero, had shown an incapacity only equaled by his vanity and arrogance. The

discontented had formed a great and dangerous opposition, of which Maria Anna de la Tremoille (by her second marriage Princess of Orsini-Bracciano), mistress of the queen's household, took the leadership. The lands of the crown of Aragon, especially Catalonia, were ready to rise against the French king. The maritime powers, therefore, invited the emperor to dispatch his younger son, the Archduke Charles, at the head of a squadron and army, to the Pyrenean peninsula. At the same time (May, 1703), they concluded an alliance with Portugal, securing her co-operation by promising great pecuniary and mercantile advantages. The emperor was not altogether content with the scheme, for the possession of half of Italy and of the Catholic Netherlands seemed to him more important than the founding of a new Hapsburg *Secundogenitur*. It was not till Charles in secret promised to cede him the duchy of Milan that he sent out the youth in the autumn of 1703.

The allies gained yet another ally and that one no less important than Portugal. No prince seemed more closely bound to France than Duke Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy. He was related to Louis XIV. by marriage.¹ But Louis withheld from him the promised chief command of the army in Northern Italy. The French generals, too, exhibited mortifying distrust of him. This was more than Victor Amadeus could bear, and he made advances to the emperor in the summer of 1702. Louis, however, got tidings of the negotiations, and by his express command Vendôme arrested certain Piedmontese generals, disarmed several Piedmontese regiments, and ordered the duke to reduce his army to 6000 men and to deliver over to him two of his main fortresses. Victor Amadeus refused, and on November 8, 1703, he signed a treaty by which, in consideration of his joining the Grand Alliance, he was promised an extension of territory at the expense of Milan and Mantua and an imperial auxiliary corps of 20,000 men.

In April, Villars, with 60,000 men, had pressed on unopposed through the Black Forest into the interior of South Germany. Louis of Baden dared not offer resistance. The imperial troops, who had formerly constituted his main strength, were now directed against the Elector of Bavaria and the growing revolt in Hungary. The diet at Ratisbon had, indeed, voted 120,000 troops, but of these only 10,000 were present, and they were in a wretched condition. Meanwhile, Maximilian Emmanuel had gained several advantages over the numerous, but deplorably led, imperial forces, and was ready to form a junction with the French. Soon Tallard came and kept the margrave (Louis) in his trenches

¹ The elder daughter of the Duke of Savoy was married to Louis's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, and the younger daughter to the latter's brother, Philip V. of Spain.

at Bühl near Baden, so that Villars was able, unopposed, to form a junction with the Bavarian. The two together were so superior to the imperialists that the best course seemed to be to strike a blow immediately at the heart of the Austrian monarchy.

But for this Maximilian Emmanuel had not the courage. He therefore resolved to direct his march to the Tyrol, to conquer it, and then, uniting his forces with the main army under Vendôme, to begin the attack on Austria.

In June, 1703, the elector entered the Tyrol, leaving Villars behind for the protection of Bavaria. All went according to his wishes. Within a week the whole country as far as Innsbruck was in his power, and from this city he thought that he would be able to march southward over the Brenner Pass to meet Vendôme. But he reckoned without his host. The loyal Tyrolese mountaineers rose on all sides and began, under the brave Martin Sterzinger, a war of extermination against the Bavarians. The elector himself was in imminent peril and was glad to retire from the Tyrol (August, 1703) with less than half his army. Vendôme, who had come no farther than Trent, had also to turn back.

This failure hurt the Franco-Bavarian cause very much. As a consequence, the brave imperial general, Starhemberg, was able to maintain his position in Upper Italy. When Vendôme on his return from Trent turned against Victor Amadeus, Starhemberg set out with the half of his little army to the help of the allied duke. Marching right across Upper Italy, and along the whole front of Vendôme's position, he was able (January, 1704) to form a junction at Asti with the anxious Savoyard.

In South Germany, Count Styrum, at the head of the left wing of the imperial army, let himself be surprised and totally defeated by Villars, on September 20, at Höchstädt. Villars wished to follow up his victory and annihilate Styrum's corps, but Maximilian Emmanuel insisted on first attacking Louis of Baden, who lay entrenched near Augs-burg, and Louis XIV., who desired to keep the elector true to him, approved of his plan. Villars thereupon resigned his command in favor of Marsin. Maximilian Emmanuel had, at least, the satisfaction of driving the margrave, with his scanty troops, to the shores of the Lake of Constance. Meanwhile Tallard had captured Breisach and begun the siege of Landau—hitherto the sole acquisition of the imperialists in Upper Germany. For its relief the Dutch dispatched a strong corps into the Palatinate. But this body was surprised and utterly defeated by Tallard on the Speyerbach (September 16), and on the next day Landau capitulated. Altogether the outlook in Germany was dreary enough.

Things were no better in Austria, where, according to Eugene's own words, the soldiers were naked and reduced to beggary, and the fortresses destitute of ammunition and provisions. In the beginning of 1704, Maximilian Emmanuel broke into the land. On the other side, Francis Rákóczy ruled in Hungary like a sovereign prince, and, while Count Pálffy maintained himself with difficulty at Presburg, with an army corps, Hungarian hussars were devastating Moravia and Lower Austria.

Louis XIV. (PLATE XXV.) had thus grounds for hoping that he was about to attain the main object of his life. The Bourbons would rule hardly less absolutely in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy than they already ruled in France and Spain. Louis XIV. was never so near the summit of his ambition as in the early months of 1704.

CHAPTER XII.

DEFEAT OF LOUIS XIV., AND THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE.

FOR deliverance from the terrible dangers that were closing in around her, Austria was indebted to the foreigner, Prince Eugene of Savoy. Invested at length by the emperor with a sort of dictatorship, he made a complete change in the *personnel* of the offices, and extorted permission from Leopold to collect the church treasures of all the hereditary lands and apply them to the maintenance of the disorganized army.

The undisciplined bands of Hungarian cavalry were not very dangerous outside of their own land. Vendôme in Upper Italy was hundreds of miles distant from the centre of the monarchy. But Maximilian Emmanuel and Marsin, with their front upon Austrian territory, threatened the emperor with disaster. Disgraceful as it was to put up with the insolence of the Hungarian rebels, the able General Heister received only enough troops to hold them in check. The Duke of Savoy and Starhemberg were left to their fate in Piedmont. The main force Eugene wished to use against the elector and Marsin. But though Louis of Baden co-operated with him, the Franco-Bavarians on their side were reinforced by Tallard's army, so that they had 120,000 men at their disposal, while the prince could oppose to them barely 80,000. In the course of the winter, therefore, he made the proposal to Marlborough that he should hasten from the Netherlands with the purpose of overwhelming the elector.

Marlborough entered into Eugene's schemes with all the imperturbable confidence and emphatic energy of his nature. Thus was inaugurated the co-operation of these two great commanders, which was to decide the fate of the war in favor of the great Teutonic league.

The English government was easily won over to Eugene's views, but it was more difficult to get the assent of the Dutch. Marlborough did not dare to communicate to them his own and Eugene's comprehensive plans; he spoke only of a temporary diversion to the Moselle, and thus, with great difficulty, obtained their consent.

Fortunately for the allied generals, the French marshals left them to make their preparations unmolested. Eugene formed a junction with the Margrave of Baden at Ehingen in Swabia. Meanwhile Marlborough

had begun his march at the head of 40,000 British troops and mercenaries—apparently in the direction of the Moselle. But suddenly the duke crossed over to the right bank of the Rhine at Coblenz and pushed with forced marches up the Neckar, leaving the puzzled Frenchmen and Dutch to look after him with amazement. At Grossheppach the three allied generals formed a junction. Eugene took on himself for a time the thankless task of defending the Bühl lines, while Marlborough and the margrave were to encounter, with their 52,000 men, the Franco-Bavarian host, 63,000 strong.



*Ein Führer ist darumb das er
Soll warden auff den fahnen schuer* 10

FIG. 73.—German military types from the wars of the seventeenth century.

The passage of the Danube at Donauwörth the elector had barred by strong fortifications on the neighboring Schellenberg and by a force of 10,000 picked men. On the evening of July 2, 1704, the allies arrived before this position. Marlborough gave the order for immediate attack, and complete success crowned the bold enterprise. The Schellenberg and Donauwörth itself were carried by storm, and two-thirds of the hostile army were killed or captured. The margrave, who had lent effective help, was wounded. After this victory the allies advanced into Bavaria, which they cruelly devastated. Maximilian Emmanuel now thought no longer

of attacking the imperial states, but only of delivering his own land. Tallard hurried to his aid from the Rhine with 30,000 men, and formed a junction with him and Marsin at Augsburg. Eugene now joined Marlborough and the margrave at Donauwörth (cf. Figs. 73-77).

Having got rid of the aged and cautious margrave by letting him depart to lay siege to the fortress of Ingolstadt, Prince Eugene and Marlborough were freed from interference with their plans. They advanced at once against the Franco-Bavarian host, which they found in a strong position near Höchstädt. Tallard with the right wing rested on the village of Blenheim on the Danube, which he had occupied with

PLATE XXV.



LOUIS XIV.

After the engraving by Pierre Drevet (1697-1739), original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).

History of All Nations, Vol. XIII, pt. 1, 8

a strong body of infantry. On the left, from the village of Oberglaubeim to the inaccessible forest-heights, stood the infantry of the elector and Marsin. The wide gap between these two villages was filled with cavalry. The Franco-Bavarian army numbered 55,000 men, and in front of it lay the swampy valley of the Nebelbach, commanded by the French artillery. On August 13, 1704, the allies—52,000 strong—had before them the heavy task of capturing this extraordinarily strong position by a direct attack in front. For hours the issue was doubtful. Marlborough, to whom Eugene had yielded the chief command, detected Tallard's mistake in concentrating all his infantry in Blenheim. Causing this village to be only watched, he wearied out the hostile cavalry by continuous assaults of the allied infantry. When the horsemen seemed sufficiently exhausted, he ordered a single tremendous onset of all his own cavalry, which threw the thinned squadrons into general disorder, and ultimately forced them to headlong flight. Tallard himself was made prisoner. The left wing the elector and Marsin rescued only by a rapid retreat, while



*Alte meiner tüchtigen, will betraute
Wie ich mich halten gut Schütze* „



*Ich Profos in ein Regiment.
Die Engehörigkeits knecht Pfent.* „

FIGS. 74 and 75.—German military types from the wars of the seventeenth century.



*Ein Meister der Welt hat all mal
Die Generale über all*

13



*Der feldherr ein kaiser hauptman
Der hat auch gar nicht entraten kan*

4

FIG. 76 and 77.—German military types from the wars of the seventeenth century.

the extreme right, consisting of the twenty-six battalions in Blenheim, was hemmed in by the allies, and compelled to surrender.

The allies had bought the victory with the loss of 12,000 men, but the results were of incalculable importance. Fifteen thousand French and Bavarians had been killed or wounded, and 13,000 captured, while 12,000 deserted. Almost all their artillery was taken. The Franco-Bavarian army had all but ceased to exist. This battle of Höchstädt, or Blenheim, changed the whole European situation. The hitherto invincible French had been utterly defeated. Austria was delivered from the most imminent danger, and her German foe—Bavaria—annihilated. The Hungarian insurrection was no longer a menace for the German-Slavic lands of the emperor, the desponding Victor Amadeus of Savoy was fired with new courage, and the cabinets, armies, and peoples of the Grand Alliance inspired with fresh confidence. Above all, England was jubilant, and the predominance of the war party was assured for years. Marlborough by one stroke took his rank among the foremost generals of all time. He was created

a prince of the empire by the grateful emperor, and received the Swabian lordship of Mindelheim. The allies were united more closely than ever. All the more stupefying was the effect of the terrible defeat on France.

The Elector Maximilian Emmanuel fled to Belgium; the allies took Landau and a number of Bavarian fortresses. The electress, who remained behind in the unhappy land, desired to rescue it from the frightful depredations and extortions of imperial officials through reconciliation with the emperor. With this view she surrendered (November, 1704) all Bavaria, with the exception of Munich, to imperial administration.

Affairs had taken a less decided course in Hungary. Field-marshal Count Sigbert Heister had indeed gained a victory over the rebels at Tyrnau, but so embittered everyone by his harsh procedure that the number of the insurgents became greater than ever. This insurrection cost the emperor more than half of his revenue and nearly half of his troops, a result that Louis XIV. attained by the small outlay of 50,000 livres, paid monthly to Rákóczy. Louis was more fortunate, too, than Leopold in regard to the insurgents in his own land. After experiencing nothing but repeated defeats in his numerous conflicts with the Camisards, the cruel and incapable Montrevel was recalled, and replaced by Villars in the beginning of 1704. The latter at once put a stop to general executions, and promised to everyone who would submit the choice of either living quietly under inspection at home or of emigrating abroad. The Camisards, hunted and attacked incessantly, never feeling secure, and unable to assemble in a body, were for the most part weary of the war, and Villars's mildness strengthened their desire for peace. In May, 1704, Cavalier himself concluded a treaty with the marshal, which, without securing to his followers liberty of conscience, granted them an amnesty for all they had done during the revolt. He entered as a colonel Louis's service, for which he promised to raise a regiment of his co-religionists. By the end of 1704 the insurrection seemed thoroughly quelled, but in the following year it again flared up anew. In place of Villars there came Berwick, illegitimate son of James II. His maltreatment of the subdued people and his prohibition of emigration again provoked a rising. But the strength of these heroic champions of the faith was broken, and in April, 1705, the last of the Camisards perished at the stake in Nîmes. The whole region of the Cévennes was depopulated and devastated. Cavalier, conscience-stricken at remaining in the service of the prince who had hounded his brethren to death, deserted with some hundreds of men to the Duke of Savoy.

Louis made the most strenuous efforts to repair the heavy losses in his army. In violation of the assurances which he had given he enrolled



FIG. 78. Emperor Joseph I. After a contemporary anonymous copper engraving.

the militia in the regular regiments, and so recruited his five armies—for Flanders, the Moselle, the Rhine, Italy, and Spain. Under these circumstances it was fortunate for Austria that a change of rulers took place through the death of Leopold (May 5, 1705). His incapacity and obstinacy had co-operated in greatly damaging the credit of his house. With great joy, therefore, the accession of his eldest son, Joseph I. (Fig. 78), was hailed.

Born in 1677, this prince was still in his early prime—a man active, cheerful, generous, and without the melancholy characteristic of his ancestors. Spirit, zeal, and clearness of intellect, as well as thorough secular training, favorably distinguished him from both his father and brother. If somewhat too favorable to the nobility, he was, at all events, free from bigotry. He was clear-sighted enough to leave to Prince Eugene the main guidance of Austrian policy, as well as the last word in all that concerned the army. But, besides this, he surrounded himself with new ministers inspired by the fresh feelings of youth. Sinzen-dorf, Schönborn, and Wratislaw infused new vigor into the imperial council.

Above all, a change for the better was needed in Italy, if the Savoyard, the last support of the Grand Alliance in the Apennine peninsula, was not to be left to succumb entirely.

In the last months of 1703 Savoy proper, the cradle of the dynasty, where the French speech of the natives and the intrigues of the clergy had produced strong French sympathies, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. In the spring of 1704, the duke and Starhemberg had scarcely more than 30,000 men under their command, while Vendôme assailed Piedmont with 40,000 on the east, and nearly an equal number of Frenchmen crossed the Alps on the west. Fortunately for the allies, the latter army was led by the incapable and presumptuous creature of the court, the Duke of La Feuillade, who, from jealousy, thwarted Vendôme in his purpose of instantly proceeding to the siege of Turin. The French thus made use of their great superiority in strength only for the investment of the smaller forts.

Meanwhile little more than his capital, Turin, was left to the duke. To effect its deliverance, Marlborough, with the concurrence of Eugene, hurried in the winter (1704–1705) to Berlin, and induced the Prussian king to send 8000 men under the able Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau to Italy. To these were added some fresh imperial troops and the weak regiments which had been occupying Southern Tyrol. The main fact was that Eugene in person commanded this united force. After some initial successes he came in contact with his equal in military science,

Vendôme, who resisted all his attempts to cross the Adda. When Eugene boldly attacked the French at Cassano (August, 1705), he was compelled to retire with severe loss. The real object of his campaign was foiled.

The year 1705 had led to no results in Germany or the Netherlands. The oppressive acts of the Austrian officials in Bavaria had produced a rising which quickly spread over the whole electorate. Thirty thousand peasants advanced on Munich, and might have taken it if they had not concluded an armistice for twelve days. This gave the imperialists time to receive reinforcements, with which they surprised and slaughtered the peasants at Sendling on the "bloody Christmas" of 1705. This revolt gave the emperor a pretext for declaring the treaty concluded with the electress void, and for partitioning Bavaria among various princes and his own favorites.

Meanwhile Marlborough had again seen his plans foiled through the fault of the allies. He had arranged to penetrate, with the help of imperial troops, into the very heart of France. In the last moment these troops failed him. Indignant to the last degree, Marlborough returned to the Netherlands, where, breaking through the French line of defence, he crushed the enemy's corps stationed at Tirlmont, took this town, and compelled Villeroi and Maximilian Emmanuel to retreat upon Brussels and Louvain. Marlborough already stood on their left flank and was on the point of making his attack, when the Dutch generals again refused their co-operation. The whole campaign was thus rendered virtually abortive.

Only in Spain did more decided successes seem to have been won. Here, the year 1704 had been on the whole favorable to the French cause, inasmuch as the Princess Orsini had succeeded in setting aside the incapable Porto-Carrero. Supported by the judicious and well-meaning Queen Maria Louisa, she had even dared to set Louis XIV. at defiance and to make Philip V. more independent of Versailles, thus rendering the Bourbon entirely popular in Castilian Spain. But further, this highly gifted and energetic woman had accomplished the impossible, and placed an effective Spanish army of 35,000 men in the field, burning with desire of revenge on the heretics and despised Portuguese. Besides all this, Berwick brought the Spaniards 12,000 excellent French soldiers. Widely different was the situation in Portugal, where only a few Dutch and English regiments could be depended on. The people, thoroughly degenerate under the twofold sway of a self-seeking, morally worthless nobility and of an ignorant and fanatical priesthood, were in no way inclined to offer up their lives and property to decide the question

PLATE XXVI.



whether a Philip or a Charles should rule in Madrid. Instead of making an inroad into Spain, according to agreement, the Portuguese permitted Berwick to press on nearly to Lisbon. But here the guerillas under Las Minas barred his passage and compelled him to retreat. It was now clear that Spain must be assailed from another quarter, and that this must be done with the means at the disposal of the maritime powers.

England had already gained an important success. In August, 1704, Admiral Sir George Rooke had captured the ruined fortress of Gibraltar and thereby acquired a secure base of operations against Madrid. The fortress was strengthened by the English garrison, and, when the Spaniards and French tried to recapture it, it withstood their attacks for seven months, when relief was brought by an English fleet in the spring of 1705. This defence had more momentous consequences than were then foreseen. Since British forces alone had held Gibraltar, the English government decided not to deliver it over to King Charles (PLATE XXVI.), but to keep it for all time as a national possession.

Meanwhile "King Charles III." found his position in Lisbon doleful enough, since he was treated with open contempt by the Portuguese and at last entirely shunned. Then, as leader of a great Anglo-Dutch fleet and commander-in-chief of all the allied forces in the peninsula, Lord Peterborough arrived at Lisbon. That nothing was to be made of the obstinate, poverty-stricken Portuguese he soon discovered, and, taking with him the Archduke Charles, he set out for Catalonia, the inhabitants of which were extremely hostile to the supremacy of Castile. At the head of 8000 of the allies he advanced to Barcelona (the Catalonians rising in his favor wherever he came), and Philip's garrison in that powerful seaport capitulated. When Charles III. promised to restore to them their ancient liberties, the people of the adjoining province of Valencia rose and drove out the Bourbon governors and garrisons. Peterborough repeatedly discomfited the Bourbon armies, and not only raised the sieges of Valencia and Barcelona, but even made new advances.

He had worked less, however, for Charles than for his own nation. Little Holland, with but two and a half million inhabitants, was then doing much more for the land war than England, who, if only by way of compensation, had to devote far more energy to her naval equipments. England had indeed been benefited by the war. She had seized Gibraltar, had coerced Portugal into a commercial treaty most advantageous for herself, and had extorted an agreement from Charles which would make British traders masters of all the Spanish industries. Dutch interests would suffer from this arrangement, and voices were heard in Holland demanding peace. But England would not hear of this. At the insti-

gation of the deeply wounded and indignant Marlborough, the English government declared in The Hague that if he, in the next campaign, was not placed in full command of the Dutch forces, England would withdraw her troops from Belgium and transfer them to another seat of war. The United Provinces had to submit.

Marlborough had now to assume the rôle of a diplomat as well as of a field-marshal, and, in the winter of 1705-6, he traversed Germany, rousing its princes to greater efforts. During one-half of the year he strained every nerve to save the armies of the Alliance from defeat, and during the other half to keep the Alliance itself from falling to pieces. Wonderful vitality and resolution were exhibited by humiliated and exhausted France. Eight armies were placed in the field, under generals like Villars, Vendôme, and Berwick, to maintain the cause of her king, and everywhere these armies anticipated their adversaries.

In April, 1706, Villars set out against Louis of Baden. The contingents furnished by the empire had been accustomed, on the approach of cold weather, to return to their own countries, whence it was impossible to assemble them again before August. Thus Villars, with his 50,000 combatants, drove the army of the margrave—scarcely 7000 strong—before him and captured all his magazines. From behind his lines at Bühl, Louis was compelled to look on helplessly, while Villars laid waste the Palatinate and renewed the atrocities of 1689 and 1693.

The southwest of Germany was saved from complete ruin only by events in the Netherlands, which compelled Villars to send thither the most considerable portion of his army. In the Low Countries, Villeroi had remained constantly behind his entrenchments. His left wing he protected by the marshy valley of the Little Gheete and established his centre in the large stone-built village of Ramillies, thus condemning both to immobility. Marlborough detected his error, and, on May 23, 1706, threw almost his whole force upon the right wing, which was more open to attack, forthwith scattered it, and thereupon overpowered the centre and left wing in detail. The French general lost all his artillery in this battle.

The fruit of this brilliant victory was the conquest of the entire Spanish Netherlands. Louvain, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, the whole of Brabant, and half of Flanders fell into Marlborough's hands. Villeroi's 40,000 men were driven for shelter behind the fortresses on the French frontier. The Belgians hailed the allies as liberators. Fortresses like Oudenarde and great cities like Antwerp opened their gates without resistance. With the exception of some of the strongest forts, the Catholic Netherlands were won for Charles III.

Louis XIV. was deeply dejected, and only with an effort could he maintain his self-possession. The collapse of the structure that had been his life-work affected deeply his hitherto so unfeeling soul. France was no longer the first nation in the world. And now other important provinces of the Spanish empire besides Belgium were irrevocably lost to Philip V.

In the spring of 1706, matters in Italy presented a doleful aspect for the allies. With Nice fell the last Piedmontese city (with the exception of Turin) and the only harbor open to the allied fleets. Victor Amadeus was in the neighborhood of Turin, which for several weeks had been besieged by La Feuillade. Vendôme occupied Lombardy, and, in April, 1706, availed himself of Eugene's absence to attack his second in command, Reventlow, at Calcinato, and force him to retreat into Southern Tyrol. Eugene hurried back to find that he could attempt nothing with his weak and demoralized army. But on the receipt of money from the naval powers, and auxiliaries from Prussia and the Palatinate, he determined to risk the utmost for the relief of Turin, and went to work with as much adroitness as daring. In spite of the superiority of the French, he marched forth once more from Southern Tyrol, crossed the Lower Po, and pressed along westward through a country hitherto unscathed by war. On September 1, 1706, he succeeded in forming a junction, south of Turin, with his cousin, Victor Amadeus. He now had the task of relieving the Piedmontese capital.

Luckily for him, he had no longer to dread the military skill of Vendôme, who had been ordered to the Netherlands and had been replaced by Louis's nephew, Philip, Duke of Orleans. To this prince, who was altogether destitute of military experience, Marshal Marsin, a man of only ordinary talent, had been given as a counselor. Orleans, with the army of Lombardy, had joined La Feuillade, and the combined French host lay in a fortified camp, with one front toward Turin, and the other toward the approaching troops of Eugene and the Duke of Savoy. The allies resolved at once to storm (September 7) the enemy's position, but the tremendous fire of the French kept them for hours away from the foot of the entrenchments, till Eugene, placing himself at the head of the Prussians, forced his way in. Marsin was mortally and Orleans dangerously wounded, and the French, deprived of any coherent leadership, fell into irretrievable disorder. La Feuillade, who had contented himself with holding the garrison of Turin in check, judged that he could do no better than retreat with his part of the army intact.

The loss of the French in killed and wounded—3000—was not greater than that of the Germans, but they had lost twice that number in

prisoners. Behind the Po, surrounded by friendly fortresses, and at the head of an army still superior to that of his opponents, La Feuillade lay in complete security, and might have made his way to Milan, where 20,000 French and Spanish troops awaited him. By this course he might have saved Milan together with Central and Southern Italy. But he and his deeply alarmed generals had but one object in view—to secure themselves as quickly as possible behind the protecting frontiers of France.

This resolve first gave to the battle of Turin its true importance. By La Feuillade's breathless flight to France the all but absolute Bourbon domination in Italy was overthrown in one day. All the Piedmontese fortresses, the capture of which had cost the French three years, surrendered, under the influence of the defeat, to the allied leaders. Eugene marched without delay into the territory of Milan, the conquest of which was facilitated by the hatred of its people toward Spanish rule. Many thousands of French troops were here made prisoners.

Most important of all, probably, was the deep dejection of Louis XIV. After the defeats of Blenheim and Ramillies, there now came this shameful story of Turin. On top of all this there came evil tidings from Spain. He despaired of preserving Spain for his grandson, and resolved to employ the French army for the security of France. In March, 1707, he concluded at Milan a general convention with the emperor, which permitted to the Bourbon troops a free return to France, but made over the Apennine peninsula to the allies. Gonzaga-Nevers of Mantua and Pico of Mirandola expiated their alliance with the *Grand Monarque* by the loss of their territories. The other Italian princes had to contribute toward filling the empty coffers of the emperor.

Italy, like Belgium, was thus wrested from French sway. One outwork of France after another had fallen—Cologne, Bavaria, the Spanish provinces outside the Pyrenean peninsula. Such were the results of the campaigns of Marlborough and Eugene in 1704 and 1706.

For a moment Spain proper, also, seemed lost to the Bourbons. The English General Galway and the Portuguese Las Minas had driven the much weaker Franco-Castilian army under Berwick steadily back from the western frontier. On June 27 they entered Madrid itself, and proclaimed Charles III. as King of Spain. Saragossa and the whole province of Aragon rose in his favor. But Philip was saved by the devotion of the Castilians. The land all around swarmed with Bourbon guerillas. In Burgos a regular army gathered around Philip. Meanwhile Berwick had formed a junction on the slope of the Guadarrama Mountains with advancing French troops and Spanish militia. Galway

and Las Minas deemed it advisable to leave the capital and join Peterborough and Charles in the east. Thereupon, on August 4, 1706, the capital rose, and massacred the little Portuguese garrison. It was soon all over with the Hapsburg monarchy in Castile. But the campaign had shown the way to Madrid, and possibly another attempt might be more fortunate.

At the very instant, however, when the great Teutonic league against French universal domination was crowned almost everywhere with success, it was threatened with dissolution. In the Netherlands the voice of the great cities as well as of the provincial estates was now all for peace. At length, in the late summer of 1706, there came from France indirect proposals for peace. As formerly, Louis sought to break up the great coalition by pandering to the selfishness of the Dutch. He promised to satisfy their political aspirations by relinquishing all Belgium, and their commercial by renewing the uncommonly favorable commercial treaty of 1664. This pleased the Dutch, but insurmountable obstacles lay in the way of the realization of their selfish policy; for English troops as well as Dutch occupied the Belgian provinces, and this made a separate compact in regard to the disposal of these provinces of little value. With regret the States-General saw that it was necessary to reject the French proposals. Still more menacing for the continuance of the Grand Alliance was the extension of the Northern War into the heart of Germany.

The deplorable condition of the army of the empire made it incapable of any serious operation. The misery of his 19,000 starving and poorly equipped soldiers, the repeated reproaches from Vienna, London, and The Hague, and the feeling of shame at length proved too much for the Margrave Louis. Under the constant excitement his wound became worse and worse, and resulted in his death in the beginning of 1707. Louis's successor as commander of the forces of the empire, the Margrave Christian Ernest of Bayreuth, a patriotic and upright prince, was unable to hinder Villars, who had double his strength, from breaking through the Bühl-Stollhofen lines in the spring of 1707. The French now rapidly overran the undefended Franconian and Swabian circles, where they plundered ruthlessly, and extorted nine million guildens in war contributions alone. With difficulty the incompetent margrave was induced to resign the chief command, which, to propitiate the English, was entrusted to George, Elector of Hanover, who ultimately drove Villars across the Rhine. These occurrences emboldened Rákóczy to spurn arrogantly the negotiations proposed to him by the Emperor Joseph I. On the contrary, he prevailed upon the Transylvanians to elect him as their prince at their diet of Maros-Vásárhely (1707). He next summoned a meeting of the

Hungarian diet at Onod, where the extreme Rákóczy party treated the moderate elements most outrageously and shamefully murdered two of their deputies. Through measures of this character Rákóczy secured the passage of a decree deposing Joseph I., and the Bavarian elector was looked upon as a suitable candidate for the throne.

Amid all these complications there came the alarming tidings that the dreaded Swedish king contemplated establishing himself with his victorious army in the very heart of Germany—in Saxony. With this reckless man in their immediate neighborhood, neither Prussia nor Denmark, nor the Saxon elector, nor even the emperor, could send their contingents for the army of the coalition. Besides all this, Charles seemed to be about to call on the oppressed Protestants in Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia to rise in arms against Joseph I. Louis XIV. dispatched an emissary to the Swedish camp at Altranstädt, with the purpose of attaching Charles entirely to France. Only one man could be of help to the allies here, for he alone had influence with the headstrong man. This was Marlborough. On the point of opening the campaign in the Netherlands, he hurried, in the spring of 1707, to Altranstädt. Marlborough impressed on Charles XII. the fact that Louis had always been the bitterest enemy of the Protestant religion, of which the king of Sweden regarded himself as the especial champion. Nor were bribes for Charles's ministers overlooked. The duke gained his object, and the dispute between Charles and the emperor was adjusted. But the latter had to grant toleration to his Protestant subjects in Silesia, and restore all the church property wrested from them since 1648. In September, 1707, Charles marched to the Russian steppes, where the allies had long wished him to be.

Not only had the Swedish complications changed the course of the campaign in Germany, but Marlborough had lost the best time for operations in the Netherlands. All the more did men expect from the victorious Italian army under Prince Eugene, on whom the emperor had conferred the honorable and lucrative post of governor of Milan. But great difference of opinion prevailed among the allies as to the use which should be made of the army. The emperor wished to conquer Naples. Victor Amadeus and the naval powers proposed an attack on Provence, where the former hoped to gain territory and England desired to make a permanent conquest of Toulon. Finally a compromise was made. Ten thousand of the best imperial soldiers were sent to Naples under Dam, while Eugene and his ducal cousin turned toward Provence. The conquest of Naples was all the more easily achieved because the garrisons were entirely insufficient to repel the enemy, while the people were bitterly

hostile to Spanish domination. But the attack on Provence was a very different matter. Heat, together with want of water and of adequate supplies, in a land systematically laid waste by the French government, soon produced exhaustion and sickness among the allied troops. Toulon, to which they laid siege, could not be taken. At length (August, 1707) they raised the siege, and, after a loss of 10,000 men, returned to Piedmont.

Things were even worse for the allies in Spain. After the failure of the attempt on Madrid, Peterborough had left the country, and Galway and Las Minas, who were now in command, were by far his inferiors. In April, 1707, they were completely defeated at Almansa by Berwick, and this battle decided the contest between the Bourbon and the Hapsburg king in Spain. Within a month Berwick conquered Valencia and Aragon, and even in Catalonia the Archduke Charles was restricted to the capital, Barcelona, and a few forts. Philip V. improved the defeat of the "rebels" to deprive Aragon of all its ancient liberties, which up to that time fanatical despotism had not been able to destroy.

But successes abroad could not compensate France for the internal misery caused by seven years of war. The king was scarcely able to recruit men enough to fill up the gaps in his armies, which had been depleted by so many defeats. His silver plate and that of his courtiers had long ago been coined into money. The French maritime trade had been destroyed by the English and Dutch fleets. Manufactures were prostrate through lack of markets and the continually growing imposts. The exorbitant taxes spread poverty and wretchedness everywhere. Under these circumstances a party favoring "peace at any price" was developed in the very highest circles and stood in close alliance with the secret adherents of Quietism. Its spiritual leader and adviser was Archbishop Fénelon of Cambrai; its temporal head was the Duke of Burgundy, the son of the dauphin. Peace, a reduction of taxation, the preferment of the nobles, and especially of the clergy, and a return to the conditions of the Middle Ages constituted the programme of this "Cabal of the Saints," to which several of the ministry belonged. These saints desired that Louis should forthwith sue for peace and, by the renunciation of all his conquests, expiate the sin of having made fame his idol. They brought about the fruitless negotiations of 1706; but their character and aims were too much at variance with those of Louis XIV. for him not to break quickly with them. Especially after the events of 1707 the war-party again acquired ascendancy at the court of Versailles. In March, 1708, the king attempted an invasion of Great Britain, and a fleet crowded with troops was sent out to carry James III.

to Edinburgh. The expedition proved a total failure. Pursued by a superior English squadron, the French did not venture to land, and, only with difficulty, and not without loss, regained the harbor of Dunkirk. The enterprise only served to increase the popularity of the English war-party—the Whigs.

Louis, however, was so encouraged by the occurrences of the previous year that he resolved to assume the offensive in the Netherlands also. With this object he had sent there no less than 110,000 men, and those the best soldiers of France, under the leadership of no less distinguished a general than Vendôme. He committed the nominal chief command to his grandson, Burgundy, who was to take this opportunity to learn the art of war. Burgundy was, according to the king's intention, to follow the precepts of Vendôme, but the probable successor to the throne was too haughty to take orders from the great-grandson of a bastard.

At first the great French army met with the expected success. The States-General of the United Provinces had set up a government in Belgium which, since it was Dutch and was also Protestant, provoked the liveliest antipathy of the strong Catholics of the Southern Netherlands; and, with the help of the inhabitants, the French captured, almost without a struggle, the two capitals of Flanders, Ghent and Bruges. They then began the siege of Oudenarde, which at that time was strongly fortified.

Encouraged by the arrival of Prince Eugene, Marlborough resolved to risk a battle for the relief of the town. This took place on July 11, 1708, and was decided in favor of the allies mainly by reason of the discord between the two commanders-in-chief of the enemy. The French, in spite of their great numerical superiority, were compelled to retreat, and this retreat was converted in the darkness of night into a disorderly flight, in the course of which 9000 were made prisoners.

Burgundy entrenched himself, however, with his army at Ghent. But Eugene prevailed upon the more circumspect Marlborough, and the two friends, without regard to the French army, undertook the siege of Lille. Eugene conducted the attack, while Marlborough covered it against the enemy's army, which the French army of Alsace under Berwick had now joined, so that the united force was more than twice as numerous as that of the duke. But the continued disputes between the three French leaders prevented their effecting anything by united action, until Marlborough had entrenched himself so effectually that an attack on his position was not to be thought of. But the large garrison of Lille defended itself gallantly under the heroic Boufflers behind its fortifications, and when, after fifteen heavy engagements, Boufflers had to evacuate

the city, he withdrew into the citadel. This was also forced to capitulate, on December 7, 1708, the brave garrison being allowed to march out with military honors. Both Ghent and Bruges fell again into the hands of the allies.

The penalty for the defeat fell exclusively on Vendôme, who was deprived of his military rank and banished from the court. Boufflers, on the other hand, received the most splendid evidences of favor.

On the Rhine, nothing of importance took place. In Spain, the able Guido Starhemberg freed Barcelona and the adjoining districts from the superior force of the Duke of Orleans, who soon made his position there untenable by the open way in which he labored for the erection of a separate kingdom of Aragon in his own behalf. While Orleans was negotiating on this point with the English, he was dealing with the discontented nobility of Castile, with the object of inducing them to put him on the throne of Philip V. The detection of these intrigues was the cause of Orleans falling into deserved disgrace with Louis XIV. Meanwhile the English fleet took possession of the island of Sardinia in the name of Charles III. It then captured Minorca, with its excellent harbor, Port Mahon. The English government decided to retain Minorca and Gibraltar as stations for the British fleets in the Mediterranean.

Joseph I. could now pose as ruler of Italy. First, he confiscated Mirandola and Mantua as forfeited fiefs of the empire. Of the latter duchy he had to give up the western district—Montferrat—with the important fortress of Casale as a prize of war to the Savoyard. The German branch of the house of Hapsburg now gained a firm footing in Italy, where, up to this time, it had not so much as an acre of ground. Then Joseph proclaimed himself protector of the peninsula. As such, he had first to punish Pope Clement XI. for his partisanship on the side of France. The fortress of Comacchio—the key to the northeastern portion of the States of the Church—was occupied by imperial troops. When the pope not only raised soldiers, but also sought allies among the Italian states, and threatened excommunication, an imperial army-corps advanced into the States of the Church. The helpless pope was forced to submit in January, 1709, to the imperial will, to renounce his Bourbon sympathies, and recognize Charles III. as King of Spain.

Louis XIV. was reduced to great straits. The expedients of the incompetent minister of war and finance, Chamillart, such as the constant debasing of the coinage, did more harm than good. He sold thousands of useless offices, and, because of such augmentation of the privileged classes, well-to-do people, who could be called on to pay direct taxes, were scarcely to be found. All the more ruthlessly were the poor burdened,

and in the south insurrections soon broke out, which could be stilled only by the remission of taxes. The misery of the people was aggravated by the unusual severity of the winter of 1708-1709. A frightful dearth ensued, which the government, in its favorite way, but fruitlessly, sought to alleviate by the persecution of those who tried to buy up the supply of grain. Risings of the people against the magistrates and the bakers took place everywhere, even in Paris. The dauphin and the king himself were insulted in the public streets, while placards on the walls and anonymous letters threatened Louis with the dagger of Brutus and Ravaillac.

These hopeless conditions gave to the peace-party at Versailles a complete victory. Louis decided to make new proposals, first to the States-General of the United Provinces, and through them to the Alliance generally. In April, 1709, he sent his minister of foreign affairs, the Marquis de Torey, in person to The Hague. The allies, in the belief that the French king was unable, under any circumstances, to prolong the war, demanded not only the transfer of the entire Spanish inheritance to the house of Hapsburg, the acknowledgment of the Protestant succession to the throne of England, and the expulsion of the Stuarts from France, but also the cession to the Dutch of a chain of fortresses in northern France as a "barrier." To these severe conditions Torey after long hesitation agreed. But the allies went further. They demanded the restoration of the boundary between France and Germany on the basis of the Peace of Westphalia, as well as the fixing of a wider "barrier" at the cost of France in favor of the Duke of Savoy. These conditions Louis rejected. Earnestly as Torey desired peace, he had to leave The Hague in June, 1709, to the great disappointment of the allied statesmen, who did not believe that France would dare to resist longer. The French people approved of the reasons for breaking off the peace-negotiations, and placed their lives and treasures at Louis's disposal. Marshal Villars received the command of the army in the Netherlands. The heroic and modest Boufflers was placed under his orders. Berwick commanded in the Alps against Victor Amadeus. The army in Spain also was reinforced. Thus, under the leadership of her ablest generals, France prepared herself for a new—and, as men thought, final—passage at arms with her superior foes.

When Marlborough and Eugene, after taking several smaller fortresses, proceeded to the siege of Mons, the capital of Hainaut, Villars advanced against them, choosing an excellent defensive position on the wooded heights of Malplaquet, which he fortified by a threefold line of entrenchments. The allies attacked it on September 11, 1709. The out-

come of the battle was long doubtful, but at last Eugene took advantage of the confusion which arose among the French when Villars was struck in the leg by a cannon-ball, to force their left wing to give way. Ninety squadrons of his cavalry then fell on the French centre. Boufflers ordered the retreat, which was conducted in excellent order. The loss of the allies was 18,000 men, that of the French only 15,000, including 500 prisoners. The battle of Malplaquet was, nevertheless, a victory for the allies. Mons was forced to capitulate and Hainaut was occupied.

In Hungary, also, matters had shaped themselves to the advantage of the imperial house. The arrogance shown by Rákóczy toward the diet of Onod had called forth vigorous disapprobation in the whole land. The more moderate and thoughtful Hungarians had all the less desire to exchange the ancient hereditary sway of the Hapsburgs for the rule of Rákóczy or Maximilian Emmanuel, because, in consequence of the growing weakness of Poland, Hungary, which could now be defended against the Turks only by Austria, would thus be placed between two enemies—German and Ottoman—and must surely perish. France was lukewarm; she gave to the insurgents the fairest promises, but took care not to burden herself with new obligations. The desire of the great majority of the Magyars was to reform, but not to overthrow, the Hapsburg rule. Many bishops, nobles, and cities in Hungary, as well as the three kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, protested against the decrees of the convention of Onod. This protest was brilliantly enforced by a complete defeat inflicted on Rákóczy's army, in August, 1708, by Field-marshal Heister at Trenesin. One town after another and one insurgent magnate after another joined the party of the emperor. Everyone hastened to take advantage of the amnesty magnanimously held out to the insurgents by Joseph I. Only Rákóczy himself, and his earliest and most devoted adherents—the Counts Beresenyi, Forgach, and Esterházy—declined to submit, and fled to Poland and later to France. In April, 1711, the last of the revolted magnates, nobles, and towns acknowledged, in the convention of Szathmar, the imperial authority, on receiving a pledge of unconditional pardon and the maintenance of all the liberties and privileges of Hungary and Transylvania. Thus the Hungarian insurrection came to an end.

Although, on the Upper Rhine, the Elector of Hanover was altogether unable to protect the German frontiers against French marauders, and although, in Spain, the gallant Guido Starhemberg could make but little progress, all this was but little in comparison with the results in Hungary, and especially in the Netherlands. Louis XIV. had no longer any hope of offering effective resistance to his enemies. His magazines

were empty, and his armies could not even obtain regularly wretched oven bread. Generals, officers, and soldiers, with one voice, declared another campaign impossible.

Without impeding warlike operations, peace negotiations had been carried on by mediators during the whole winter of 1709-1710, and in March, 1710, they were officially resumed at Gertruydenberg in Holland. Louis had now brought himself to renounce the whole Spanish succession, and pledged himself, in case Philip V. should prove intractable, to withdraw even indirect support from him. He offered to cede the rich French cities of Valenciennes and Douai, as well as the district of Cassel, as a barrier for Holland, and to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk and all the fortresses of Alsace. But now the allied statesmen were not in earnest in their desire for peace. They regarded the condition of France as so desperate that they hoped, by continuing the war, to reduce her to the position which she occupied in the sixteenth century, and, therefore, they insisted that Louis himself should drive the French prince out of Spain. One cannot blame the king for declining such terms. Finally, he indicated the extreme concessions which he was willing to make: he offered the allies twelve million livres as subsidy for a war against Philip V., but French soldiers were not to fight against their former protégé. If he were spared this humiliation, he promised to restore the whole of Alsace to the house of Austria. But all this did not satisfy the allies. In an ultimatum of July 13, they declared that Louis alone and within two months must expel his grandson from Spain, and they gave him only fourteen days in which to accept this condition. This was too much; Louis recalled his plenipotentiaries and declared that he was no longer bound by his earlier promises.

Thus was the prospect of a glorious peace frustrated. The most sanguine hopes of the allies in entering on the war had been surpassed. But an arrogance, such as Louis himself had never manifested in his proudest days, dashed the brilliant prospect. The dictators at Gertruydenberg had not taken into account the inexhaustible resources of the French soil and the spirit of its people, the patriotism that shunned no sacrifice. Men paid willingly a new and heavy tax of the tenth of their incomes.

But all these sacrifices seemed inadequate to deliver France. Eugene and Marlborough appeared before Douai, which was forced to capitulate. Bétune, Aire, and St.-Venant followed its example.

To convince the allies of the sincerity of his wish for reconciliation, Louis had withdrawn his troops from Spain, so that Philip was left alone with his Castilians to confront the experienced troops of England under

Stanhope, and the imperial regiments under Starhemberg. Philip's newly levied soldiers fled regularly on the first interchange of shots, so that Charles III. was able, after a series of victories which were won without difficulty, to recover Saragossa. By restoring to the natives their liberties and privileges—the cherished *fueros* of the lands of the crown of Aragon—he chained their sympathies permanently to his cause. Then, on the advice of the impatient and impulsive Stanhope, he pressed onward to Madrid. Philip fled to Valladolid, and the allies found Castile deserted and Madrid abandoned by all the higher officials, the nobles, and the well-to-do burghers. In the midst of deathlike stillness Charles made his entry into the capital, in September, 1710. He took up his quarters in a neighboring country-seat. Nevertheless the kingdom was won, if only the Portuguese army joined Charles's troops in Madrid. Louis XIV. himself commissioned the Duke of Noailles to persuade his grandson to renounce Spain.

Even at this critical moment, France and her protégé, Philip V., were rescued from destruction. To understand this revolution we must cast a glance at the internal conditions of England under Queen Anne.

The secure establishment of England's freedom at the end of the seventeenth century and the brilliant unfolding of her external power inspired her literature with a jubilant energy. Her abounding wealth and comfort, the moderate character of her political controversies, and her healthy social life contributed to foster intellectual activity, while the great discoveries in science and Locke's lucid philosophy of experience enlarged the sphere of human thought. In its love for literature this age resembled the Augustan. No less, also, than to Prior and Swift did its most exalted nobles delight to do honor to the barber's son of Halle, Handel, who glorified their festivities as well as the great deeds of England by his musical compositions. From these happily mingled elements a society arose perhaps more brilliant and more attractive than any that has since been seen.

The religious-philosophical views of the age associated themselves especially with the sober but keenly logical system of Locke, while from Spinoza they borrowed their sharpest weapons of assault on divine inspiration, miracles, and prophecies. From these two thinkers was evolved the English school of deists. The way was paved by John Toland (about 1700) with his book, "Christianity not Mysterious," in which he seeks to purge Christianity of all miracles, mysteries, and ceremonies. The Earl of Shaftesbury, a subtle and refined thinker, was so captivated with this philosophico-rationalistic tendency that, in order to devote himself exclusively to its furtherance, he declined any office of state. In artis-

tically complete form, he lands, in his "Characteristics" and his correspondence, a morality based on aesthetics. Virtue is moral beauty; vice, a conflict against the happy equilibrium within us; the God-idea, a personification of the highest and purest harmony. Bolingbroke, to the latitudinarianism of the intellect, added that of the heart, and undermined the foundations of all faith by relegating the God-idea to the unknowable.

This keen, rationalistic rather than intuitive, manner of thought dominated also English poetry, of which the most celebrated representative was Alexander Pope (1688-1744). In style refined and ingenious, and unsurpassed as a versifier, his powerful and sonorous rhyme is to this day the pride of England. But his matter is flat and dryly intellectual, without a warm breath to expand or elevate the heart. The same trait characterizes the moralizing dramas and weekly periodicals of the time, as also the satirically didactic works of fiction. The leader of all this moralizing band was Addison, with his rhetorical tragedy of "Cato." Addison took advantage of the interest which his native land showed for literature to issue a weekly periodical of morals and *belles lettres*, the "Tatler." It was followed by the "Spectator," which was read everywhere with avidity. These publications were of inestimable benefit in disseminating pure intellectual and moral culture in England.

In close relation to this moralizing tendency in letters stood the didactic novel and the satirical novel. Of the former class Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" is the unrivaled example. A Dissenter, who had contended for religious equality, and who had expiated his daring by fine, imprisonment, and the pillory, Defoe published a much-read periodical of Whig tendency, which was distinguished by the accuracy of its views on political economy. Politics and letters went hand in hand in the England of those days. The satirical novel found its master spirit in Jonathan Swift. Of more enduring worth than the political pamphlets which he wrote for both parties alternately, replete as they are with talent, wit, acuteness, and malice, is the work by which he is best known, "Gulliver's Travels," an admirable satire on the conditions at that time prevailing in England and Europe. Briefly, it may be said that in letters, as in politics, England then stood at the head of Europe.

In such paths Queen Anne was little adapted for the rôle of a leader. Thirty-eight years of age when she ascended the throne, she was a portly—almost corpulent—woman, not devoid of a certain natural eloquence. Left motherless while still a child, she was, on her father's second marriage, brought up, away from her Catholic parent, by the Bishop of London, who imbued her with a sincere antipathy to Romanism and the popular rationalism, but gave her in other respects a very defective

education, while her simple-minded husband, Prince George of Denmark, was little qualified to promote the development of her stunted intellect. Her numerous children all died young. Her mind remained uncultured, her character wanting in self-reliance, her judgment slow and dull; above all, she dreaded earnest work, and all the more obstinately held to purposes once formed. Without confidence in her own abilities, she regarded with suspicion others better endowed, while the very consciousness of her personal inferiority induced her to set greater store by the outward marks of her dignity. Her weak, vacillating nature led her to lean on such as were stronger and more determined than herself, and, since she found such a person in her maid of honor, Sarah Jennings (later Duchess of Marlborough), she attached herself to her by the bonds of an ardent and devoted friendship. For years she followed blindly the counsels of the duchess and her husband, and Sarah might have prolonged her sway indefinitely had she been careful to manifest the reverence and submissiveness due to a sovereign. But this the duchess, in spite of her husband's warnings, would not do, and thus she lost her place in Anne's affections. To personal motives were added more general ones. Anne was a firm adherent of the most orthodox views of the Anglican church, and, since her own children had died, cherished the natural hope of being able to secure the succession for her brother, James III., on his coming over to the state church. The Whigs, who did not deceive themselves in regard to Anne's secret antipathy to them, had always treated her with distrust and scarcely concealed hostility. Her inclinations were, in brief, entirely on the side of the High Tories. She had even formed a ministry from this party, but this had proved itself entirely incapable, with the exception of Marlborough and his trusted friend, the lord high treasurer, Godolphin, who had the management of affairs exclusively in their hands. Godolphin was an invaluable ally for Marlborough and the war party. But the two leaders differed in opinion more and more from their Tory friends, who were weary of the war. In 1704 the most decided Tories left the cabinet, and made way for more compliant members of their party, such as Robert Harley, an adroit parliamentarian, and Henry St. John. When the elections of 1705, held under the influence of the war-spirit, resulted in favor of the Whigs, the last of the extreme Tories disappeared from the administration, and their places, despite Anne's opposition, were filled by their rivals. The more emphatically the Lords and Commons declared against the Tories, the more was Anne incensed against the two leading statesmen, to whom she attributed this condition of affairs.

In internal politics, the most noteworthy measure of the reconstructed cabinet was the union of Scotland with England. Scotland had been brought to share England's burdens, but had been jealously shut out from all commercial and colonial advantages. Its Parliament was bought by English gold, and the subserviency of this body aggravated the hatred of the impoverished lower classes toward their overbearing and selfish southern neighbor. The Whigs had long sought to remedy this miserable state of affairs by the close union of the two nations; but the more determined English Tories resisted this to the utmost, because Jacobitism was in the ascendant in Scotland, and they hoped, if it remained independent, to conduct their cause to victory in this land. But, after tedious negotiations, the Whigs carried their point in both countries. On January 27, 1707, the Union was carried in the Scotch Parliament, and by the royal assent made law. Scotland and England became the kingdom of Great Britain, with the same commercial rights and privileges. One Parliament replaced the Parliaments of the separate kingdoms, Scotland being represented in it by forty-five members in the Lower House and sixteen peers in the Upper. In respect to taxes, Scotland received for a time special indulgence, and it retained its own judicial system as well as its national Presbyterian church.

But Queen Anne saw in this most beneficial measure only a defeat of her own principles. The Whigs forced her to accept the Earl of Sunderland as her minister, and to dismiss Harley and St. John (1708). Nevertheless Harley exercised a decided influence on the queen through his cousin, Mrs. Masham, who had succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough in the royal favor.

Public opinion now began to turn against the Whigs. Marlborough's unbounded cupidity and his ambition in demanding a position for life as commander-in-chief of the army displeased the nation. Men began to murmur about the endless war, which imposed such heavy burdens on England, and a violent reaction set in against it. The clergyman Sacheverell, whom the Whigs had prosecuted for a sermon against themselves, was hailed everywhere as a saint and martyr.

Anne saw with delight that public sentiment had come over to her side. Marlborough was treated with open hostility at court, and the queen broke completely with his wife (1710). Counseled by Harley, and encouraged by a multitude of approving and loyal Tory addresses, Anne proceeded with determination against the Whigs. Sunderland was first dismissed, then Godolphin (August, 1710), as well as all the genuine Whigs in the cabinet. A new ministry was formed, with Harley (now Earl of Oxford) at its head, and including St. John (now Viscount Boling-

broke). Parliament was dissolved, and the new elections gave the Tories a two-thirds majority in the Lower House. Marlborough retained indeed his post as general, but was stripped of all political influence. The English reaction, so menacing for the permanence of the Alliance, was followed by other incidents, all operating in favor of peace.

In the Spanish peninsula there came a total revolution. The Tory ministry withdrew all financial support from the Portuguese, and the latter became inactive, and left Charles III. and his troops in Madrid to their fate. On the other hand, volunteers streamed incessantly into Philip's camp near Valladolid, so that he soon found himself at the head of an army of 25,000 men, commanded by no less a general than the Duke of Vendôme. A French corps invaded Catalonia, the true base of Charles's power. Notwithstanding the threatening situation, Stanhope's obstinacy detained the allies week after week in Madrid, and, when a retreat was finally decided on, he separated himself from the imperialists. Vendôme took advantage of this to surprise the weak English detachment, and compel it to surrender at Brihuega (December, 1710). Starhenberg, with difficulty repelling Vendôme's attack at Villavieiosa, made his way with all speed to the coast. Charles's Aragonian troops dispersed, and, in the spring of 1711, he held only Barcelona and a few other fortresses.

To these two misfortunes there came a third. On April 17, 1711, the Emperor Joseph I. died. This in itself was a severe blow for the coalition, but its consequences were still more disastrous. Joseph left no son, so that his wide dominions fell to his brother Charles, who would probably be elected emperor, and who was forthwith summoned by the Austrian ministers from Spain. But it was not for the interest of the naval powers that the vast possessions of Spain should pass into the hands of the ruler of the Austrian lands, who would also wear the imperial crown; for a monarchy would thus arise mightier than that of Charles V. and more dangerous for Europe. The original aim of the struggle, to found a new Hapsburg dynasty in Spain distinct from the imperial house, could no longer be attained, for Charles was the only surviving male of the house of Hapsburg.

The disposition of the Dutch and especially of the English authorities toward peace was not unknown to Louis XIV., and inspired him with new confidence. He saw that the great object for France now was to gain time, and in this conviction he did not shrink from the greatest efforts, and was soon once more able to send considerable armies to Spain and to the north. Here Villars again commanded, but under strict injunctions carefully to avoid an engagement. He no longer found Eugene



FIG. 59. Emperor Charles VI. After an engraving by Bernhard Vogel (1683-1737).

opposed to him. This prince was in Germany urging on Charles's return and his election as emperor, and at the same time protecting Frankfort, the electoral city, from any assault by the French. Charles, leaving his wife, Elizabeth of Brunswick, as regent in Barcelona, took ship for Germany, and on the same day on which he landed in Upper Italy (October 12, 1711) he was chosen emperor in Frankfort, with the title of Charles VI. Meanwhile the allied army in the Netherlands was so neglected by the revengeful Tories that Marlborough was able to gain only insignificant advantages.

In January, 1711, Oxford and Bolingbroke had secretly sent an agent to Paris to resume negotiations for peace. Louis and his ministers eagerly embraced this opportunity, and held out to England the prospect of favorable conditions, such as the possession of Gibraltar, commercial privileges, and the like. In August, 1711, Louis sent an agent experienced in commercial matters—one Ménager—to London, who offered to England the cession of Newfoundland, Gibraltar, and Minorca, the enjoyment of the commercial privileges of the "most favored nation" in France and Spain, as well as the monopoly of the slave trade in the Spanish colonies. For these concessions Louis demanded nothing less than the acknowledgment of Philip V. as King of Spain, and England's intervention to secure a similar acknowledgment from the other allies, the restitution of all conquests made in France, and the restoration of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to their lands. In short, every allied power, save England, was to make sacrifices.

Only through the threat of concluding peace independently of the United Provinces was the English government enabled to induce the Dutch to take part in the negotiations. The Emperor Charles VI. (Fig. 79) refused indignantly to listen to any conditions that implied renunciation of Spain. He sent Prince Eugene to London to effect, if possible, a change in the sentiments of England. The prince was treated with marked coldness. A creation of new peers overcame the Whig majority in the Upper House. Marlborough was accused by the Lower House of embezzlement of the public funds and was dismissed by Anne from all his offices. At the end of January, 1712, the peace conferences began in Utrecht, but without the participation of the emperor. Great difficulties forthwith presented themselves, for the French envoys, assuming the tone of conquerors, proposed impossible conditions. At the same time events took place which led even the British government to hesitate.

In April, 1711, the only legitimate son of Louis XIV. (Fig. 161), the Dauphin Louis, died. All hopes had long been centred in the dau-

phin's eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy; but, suddenly, the wife of the heir-apparent, Marie Adelaide of Savoy, died of measles, and her husband soon followed her, in February, 1712. Burgundy left two young children, the Dukes of Brittany and Anjou. Both were stricken with the same malady. The elder succumbed to it; the younger was



FIG. 80.—Louis XIV. as an old man.

saved by his nurses, who stole him away from the doctors. In less than a year three generations of princes had been carried off by death. Of all Louis's legitimate family not one was left, save his second grandchild, Philip (who, as King of Spain, was estranged from him), his third grandchild, the weak-minded Duke of Berry, and a two-year-old great-grandchild, the heir-apparent, afterward Louis XV.

Apart from the human interest of these calamities, they had also a political import. Only a sickly infant stood between Philip V. of Spain and the throne of France. Even Anne and her ministers had not so completely forgotten the interests of their country and their religion as to expose these to the possibility of a union of the monarchies of France and Spain. The allies, therefore, resolved to carry the negotiations no further till Philip V. had, in the most binding terms, renounced all claims to the French crown for himself and his posterity. All the influence of his grandfather was needed to move Philip to this step. Then, also, Louis himself declined to cede to England the temporary occupation of Dunkirk, which that country demanded as a guarantee of his sincerity in the negotiations.

Ultimately, however, the course of events at the beginning of the new campaign compelled him to take this step. Eugene was unable to meet the weaker and poorly equipped French troops in open battle, and then to advance on the defenceless Paris; for the English commander, the Duke of Ormonde, in accordance with the orders of his government, refused to co-operate in such a movement. However, Eugene took Le Quesnoy, and his detachments laid waste Northern France as far as Metz, Rheims, and Paris. Louis saw that he must yield, in order to come to terms with England at least, and thus avert complete ruin. He sent, therefore, to Utrecht Philip's renunciation of his claims to France, and gave up Dunkirk to the English. Anne now consented to a two months' armistice, in June, 1712, and dispatched Bolingbroke himself to Paris, where he arranged with Torcy a truce, to last till the end of the year, between England, France, and Spain (August, 1712).

The English troops now left the allied army. Prussia, indignant at the secondary place assigned to its interests by the States-General of the United Netherlands, took part in the peace negotiations. Thus was Eugene not only seriously enfeebled, but, what was worse, the moral depression that had hitherto weighed upon the French was now transferred to their enemies. And now an isolated Dutch corps was surprised by Villars at Denain, and, before Eugene could come to its help, it was in large measure annihilated. This increased the confidence of the French, and gave the English ministry a fresh pretext for pressing the peace, while it intimidated the United Netherlands and deprived the protests of the emperor of all force. The King of Portugal hurried to conclude a truce with Philip V., who ceded to him the sovereignty over both banks of the Amazon.

After many interruptions the negotiations in Utrecht came to a close. England had gained for her allies some small concessions, and imperiously

demanding from them the conclusion of peace. In spite of the vigorous protest of the emperor, peace was signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, by the representatives of England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and France.

By this peace the Hanoverian succession to the English throne was recognized, the expulsion of the Stuarts from France was provided for, and the perpetual renunciation of the Spanish crown by the French Bourbons and of the French crown by the Spanish Bourbons was ensured. Louis pledged himself to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk and fill up its harbor, and to give up to England the Hudson Bay territories, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands. Spain surrendered Gibraltar and Minorca to England. Of great advantage to England's maritime trade was the acknowledgment of the principle that in future wars a neutral flag should cover the enemy's goods, except contraband, and save them from seizure by ships of the belligerent powers. Less brilliant was the fortune of Holland. She obtained, indeed, the right of garrisoning a number of South Belgian fortresses, as a "barrier," but of the numerous places captured from France she retained only Ypres and Tournai, all the rest, including the important city of Lille, being restored to France. Her commercial privileges in France, Spain, and Belgium were restricted to the most modest proportions. But the emperor had to cede to her the Guelders districts of Venlo, Montfort, and Stevenswert. Portugal was aggrandized by the lands on the Amazon. Prussia had to be satisfied with a portion of the upper quarter of Spanish Guelders, the principalities of Neuchâtel and Valengin, and the recognition by France and Spain of her sovereign's title of king. Savoy was more generously treated. England procured for Victor Amadeus all the hitherto French valleys and fortresses on the eastern slope of the Maritime and Cottian Alps, the confirmation of his possession of Montferrat and some Milanese districts, and the island of Sicily with the title of king.

Austria proper did not fare so very badly. She gained the Catholic Netherlands on condition of closing the Schelde in favor of the trade of Holland, and with the reservation of the latter country's right of garrisoning the southern fortresses, and, besides this, Milan, Naples, and the island of Sardinia. But in return for this the emperor had to evacuate Catalonia, and restore the electors of Bavaria and Cologne to their dignities and possessions. The empire fared the worst. It received back only Alt-Breisach and Kehl, and gained the Alsatian fortress, Landau.

Without doubt the emperor might have obtained better conditions for himself and the empire, had he participated in the negotiations. The continuance of the war was, on his part, due simply to his obstinacy,

against which Eugene contended in vain. The French were able to take Landau, to break through the lines of the imperialists in the Black Forest, and to make themselves masters of Freiburg (autumn, 1713). Eugene saw that an end must be made to this hazardous war, and succeeded in persuading the emperor to listen to the renewed offers of peace from France. In November, 1713, Eugene in person opened negotiations with Villars in Rastatt. Many difficulties arose, but both parties were desirous of peace, so that these were surmounted, and peace was signed at Rastatt on May 7, 1714. Six months later the empire acceded to the peace at Baden in the Aargau. The result was the confirmation of the conditions of Utrecht, with the sole exception that Landau remained French.

With laudable zeal Charles had striven to secure not only an amnesty for the Catalonians, who had remained true to him through all his perils, but also a confirmation of their ancient liberties and privileges. But Philip V. would hear of no such conditions. The Catalonians were resolute in standing by their *fueros* (privileges), and defended themselves so strenuously against the troops of Philip, that Berwick had to call in the help of 30,000 French. Then, in September, 1714, Barcelona was stormed and the remaining Catalanian towns captured. With the overthrow of the free constitution of Aragon, absolutism was triumphant everywhere in the peninsula.

With the Peace of Baden and the subjugation of Catalonia the great thirteen years' war, that had involved the whole of western Europe, was brought to a close. It had resulted in the dismemberment of the mighty Spanish empire and the exclusion of Spain from the list of the great powers. Nor had the conflict closed with advantage to France. In this last war she had had the whole Spanish monarchy as an ally, as well as many Italian and German princes, and yet she had been so thoroughly worsted that only the sudden revolution in English politics saved her from complete ruin. Louis had placed his grandson on the throne of Spain, but by that France gained little, for family ties were not strong enough to bind Spanish policy permanently to that of France. England had taken her place by the side of France as a great power, and directed her efforts in this new rôle mainly for the maintenance of the European balance of power. Above all, she had, by her important maritime conquests and her advantageous commercial treaties with France, Portugal, and Spain, founded her empire over the sea. This had been effected by the policy of William III. and his disciples, Marlborough and Godolphin. But to this same policy William's native country—Holland—had fallen a victim. Through efforts quite out of proportion to its population, it

had utterly exhausted its financial resources and burdened itself with an enormous debt. England had wrested from it the greater part of its flourishing carrying trade. Everywhere in Europe statesmen copied Cromwell's example in seeking through the protection of trade and industry to foster domestic production and promote an active commerce. The consequence of this was that the Netherlands lost the exclusive control of European markets. Thus the result of this war for Holland was that it sunk into the position of a second-rate power. On the other hand, the emperor, through the acquisition of Belgium and nearly the whole of Spanish Italy, won a material increase of power. As this occurred contemporaneously with the subjugation of Hungary and Transylvania, Austria took its place as a third great power by the side of France and England.

Thus the War of the Spanish Succession altered the international position of the great states. The effects of this change were felt all through the eighteenth century, and continue, in great measure, to the present day. The Peace of Utrecht, therefore, takes rank in diplomatic and historical importance with the Peace of Westphalia.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NORTHERN WAR.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the War of the Spanish Succession a not less eventful conflict broke out in the north of Europe, which often enough came into connection and became complicated with the former struggle.

We know how strained the situation in the north was at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet Denmark and Poland had not entered into war without consideration. Both had courted the friendship of Sweden, but had met only a rebuff from its young and self-confident prince, Charles XII. (Fig. 81). Not until after this did Augustus II. of Poland meet the czar at Rawa and concert with him a common attack on Sweden. The Holstein-Gottorp question finally applied the torch to the inflammable mass.

Duke Frederick deliberately planned to irritate Denmark, because he felt sure of finding support in his cousin and brother-in-law, Charles XII. The bitterest provocation was that the latter caused Swedish troops to enter Holstein, a dependency of Denmark (end of 1699). This gave the signal for war. King Augustus II., in February, 1700, marched his Saxon regiments into Livonia, where they took several fortresses and blockaded the capital, Riga. Simultaneously with this there came tidings to Stockholm that a Russian army was on the march to Sweden's Baltic provinces. Finally, in March, 1700, Danish troops made a descent upon Holstein and drove out both the ducal and Swedish soldiers. Charles XII., then eighteen, united to a firm trust in Providence a scarcely less firm confidence in his own strength. While the armies joined battle in Livonia and Holstein, without effecting anything decisive, he himself, in July, 1700, crossed boldly over to the centre of the Danish power, Zealand itself, and, like his grandfather, Charles X., began the siege of the hostile capital. At the same time, England and Holland came on the scene. The two maritime powers wished to have the Scandinavian states at their disposal in the impending Spanish war, and threatened, therefore, to treat Denmark as an enemy if it did not make peace. This country, therefore, consented to the Peace of Travendal (August 18, 1700), in which it pledged itself to the restoration of the

Duke of Holstein with full sovereignty, to neutrality toward Sweden, and to the payment of a small war indemnity.

With his other enemies Charles did not wish to make peace. He dreamed only of humbling his foes and winning renown for himself. So the war went on. The Czar Peter, with 45,000 men, invaded Ingermanland, whose principal fortress, Narva, defended itself gallantly. With all haste Charles came to its relief with only 8000 soldiers. The Russians



FIG. 81.—Charles XII. After an original painting (1717) by Kraft.

lost courage on the approach of the dreaded Swedes, and Peter himself left his army with all speed, in order not to be a witness of its defeat. On November 30, 1700, the Swedes stormed the entrenched camp of the Russians before Narva. The latter lost at least 12,000 men in dead, wounded, and prisoners, and the rest dispersed.

Charles's self-confidence and wilfulness were increased by this victory. Instead of granting to the overawed Augustus of Poland the peace so

eagerly sued for by him, he resolved to hurl Augustus from his throne. The latter, at a personal meeting with the czar at Birsen (February, 1701), entered into a compact by which the Swedish Baltic provinces, Livonia and Esthonia, were assigned to him, and Ingermanland and Karelia to the czar. All these, however, had first to be conquered.

Sweden had to levy an army of 80,000 men, whose maintenance fell heavily upon the poor, sparsely peopled land; and yet Charles was able to concentrate only 16,000 men for the immediate attack on King Augustus. Fortunately for him, the Saxon troops were of but mediocre quality; the Russian and Polish, wretched. He was thus able to storm the fortified passage of the Düna at Riga (June, 1701), and take possession of the Polish fief, Courland, with all its fortresses. His plan for the overthrow of Augustus II. was now followed up, in spite of the representations of his own allies and the prayers of his own subjects. His obstinacy ultimately led to his own ruin, and—combined with the enfeeblement of Poland—redounded only to the gain of Russia. He demanded that the republic should depose Augustus, on pain of having its territory treated like that of an enemy, and he proceeded to make good his threat by advancing with 16,000 men to the conquest of Poland. In July, 1702, he defeated at Klissow the far superior army of his enemy, the Poles betaking themselves to immediate flight. Warsaw and the second capital, Cracow, fell into his hands. A fresh victory at Pultusk (1703) left the Swedes uncontested masters in the field and enabled them to compel the surrender of the strongest Polish fortress, Thorn.

After these successes not only did wide districts, as yet unvisited by the Swedes, willingly submit to the war impositions laid on them, but a daily increasing Swedish party sprang up in Poland and Lithuania, which were bound by no dynastic or historical tie to Augustus II. of Saxony. At its head stood the Archbishop of Gnesen, Cardinal Radziejowski, a highly gifted, but thoroughly unprincipled man, as well as the family Leszczyński. Without the consent of Augustus, Radziejowski, in 1704, summoned a diet to meet at Warsaw. At this not more than a third of the lawful representatives appeared, but these, won over by Swedish gold and overawed by Swedish arms, decreed the deposition of King Augustus II. A rival diet at Sandomir, summoned by Augustus and attended by double the number of senators and representatives of the country, declared the deposition illegal and traitorous. Notwithstanding this, the diet of Warsaw, surrounded by Swedish regiments, proclaimed as king Stanislaus Leszczyński, a well-meaning, cultured nobleman, but devoid of abilities or influence.

The Czar Peter was careful to avoid doing anything for the relief of

Poland's misery. He let Sweden and Poland mutually destroy each other, his aim being to acquire exclusive possession of the Baltic provinces of Sweden. The Russians under Scheremeteff invaded Livonia. They gained an easy victory over the few Swedish regiments in this province and captured the fortresses of Marienburg and Nöteborg. After taking also the little fort of Nyen at the mouth of the Neva, he there laid the foundation (1703) of St. Petersburg, which was to become the gate of communication between Russia and the west. The whole of Ingermanland was next taken, and Esthonia and Finland devastated. In 1704 the subjugation of Esthonia was finished by the capture of Dorpat and Narva.

Charles maintained his ascendancy in Poland. In 1704 he defeated a new Saxon army under Field-marshal Schulenberg at Punitz, and Stanislaus Leszezynski was thereupon solemnly crowned king in Warsaw. In 1706 the Swedish Field-marshal Renskiöld entirely defeated a great Russo-Saxon army under Schulenberg at Fraustadt, and Charles in person reduced Lithuania and the southeastern districts of Poland.

The Swedish king felt no sympathy for his provinces which were plundered and subdued by Russian barbarians. With the frenzy of a maniac he hunted the wretched Augustus II. even to Saxony, and this at the instigation of Louis XIV., who calculated on involving the northern war-lord in a strife with the German empire, and in this way compelling both empire and emperor to inaction in the Spanish war.

Formidable enough did the youthful Swedish monarch appear on his entry into Germany in the autumn of 1706. He was indefatigable in his exertions and night-watches, and the best swordsman and athlete in his army. With 20,000 men he subdued Saxony, and took 22,000,000 in war-taxes, and 20,000 recruits from the unhappy land. On September 24, 1706, Charles dictated the Peace of Altranstädt, in which Augustus renounced the Polish crown, acknowledged Stanislaus as King of Poland, and bound himself to deliver over to the vengeance of the Swede all deserters. Charles remained for months after the conclusion of the peace in his camp at Altranstädt. Meanwhile the czar frightfully ravaged Poland, and the Muscovite empire grew more and more menacing, the newly acquired harbors on the Baltic bringing it for the first time into immediate relations with the western powers. His new possessions Peter treated with such mildness that their people preferred the rule of Russia to the harsh system of Sweden.

Charles, having now disposed of two of his enemies, at length resolved to deal with the third, and, flushed with victory, advanced against Peter. The latter, intimidated, offered peace at the cost of all his conquests save

little Ingermanland with St. Petersburg, which he meant to retain at all hazards, as a means of access to the Baltic and to the lands of the west. But Charles would hear of no cession on his part and rejected the proposal.

The czar now devised a plan of defence in complete accordance with the nature of his country, and justified later by the experience of Napoleon in the campaign of 1812. This was to lay waste his frontier provinces, and, by retreating before the Swedes, to decoy them into the interior of his wide domains, where want and the interruption of all communication with Sweden would be Peter's best auxiliaries.

Charles XII., who should first have recovered from the Russians his Baltic provinces, listened to the illusive representations of a desperate adventurer, the chief of a disunited, fickle, nomad robber horde, Mazeppa, the hetman of the Cossacks of the Ukraine. With this man he concluded a treaty, and, in the summer of 1708, in spite of the indignation of all his experienced officers, set out for the Ukraine—that is, for the steppes of Little Russia, where, even though he should gain a decided victory, nothing was to be won. At Golowtschin he once more defeated a Russian detachment.

Charles now pressed onward in the Ukraine, without waiting for General Lewenhaupt, who was advancing from Courland with 11,000 veterans, besides liberal supplies. He thus gave the Russians the opportunity of throwing themselves between him and Lewenhaupt, and of capturing (October, 1708) at Liesna half of the latter's corps, as well as all his artillery and supplies. Only through a masterly strategic movement was Lewenhaupt able to bring the remainder of his forces to the king. All the latter's calculations at this moment miscarried. A great enterprise directed from Finland against St. Petersburg and Kronstadt proved a total failure, but, above all, Mazeppa's promises turned out to be utterly worthless, for the Cossacks deserted Mazeppa, and he was forced to flee to Charles. In the spring of 1709, but 20,000 of the 50,000 men whom Charles had brought into Russia remained. Instead of instantly retreating with this handful, he undertook the siege of Pultowa in the face of 80,000 Russians. In spite of the fact that he had received a serious wound in the foot, he ordered an attack on the entrenchments of the Russian army on July 8, 1709, and, since he was unable to command in person, all fell into confusion, and the Swedes suffered a complete defeat. The vanquished army, driven by the pursuing Russians to the wide and rapid Dnieper, surrendered at Parewolschna.

Sweden's ascendancy in the north and east of Europe was so artificial that the single battle of Pultowa served to destroy it. It had depended

on the well disciplined army which Gustavus Adolphus had created and inspired with glorious traditions, which Charles X. had reorganized, and which Charles XII. had led to brilliant victories. When the last, through his passion for adventure and his incredible obstinacy, lost this host in his Russian campaign of 1708-09, the power of Sweden melted like snow before the sun.

With but five hundred companions Charles escaped from this catastrophe to Turkey, a power with which he had long been negotiating, and fixed his camp at Bender in Bessarabia, where he and his men were liberally cared for by the Porte. He now adopted the resolution of remaining for a time in Turkey, hoping to induce this power to make war against Russia, and to march himself once more toward this country and Poland at the head of an Ottoman army. Meanwhile, in his absence, the whole government of Sweden had gone to pieces. The constant demands for money and men had exhausted the land, and made material decadence universal. Despair and bitterness took a stronger and stronger hold on the hearts of its people, who saw themselves and their children sacrificed to the ambition of their ruler.

After Pultowa, Sweden's protégé in Poland also fell. Deserted by his adherents, Stanislaus Leszczynski sought refuge in Swedish Pomerania, while Augustus II., without regard to the Peace of Altranstädt, returned to Poland. The czar carried on a war of conquest in Finland and Livonia, and Riga was taken in 1710. He married his niece Anna to the young Duke of Courland (a vassal of Poland), and, on the early death of the latter, his widow, under Russian protection and influence, assumed the administration of the duchy. The Danes, in spite of the Peace of Travendal, tried an invasion of Sweden proper, but were decisively defeated in 1710 at Helsingborg by General Steenbock. All the more willingly, therefore, did they respect the wishes of the powers who constituted the Grand Alliance, for the latter, in order to unite all the forces of Germany against France, in the concert of The Hague declared Sweden's German possessions to be completely neutral. The sore-pressed Swedish government gladly agreed to this proposal, which permitted it to concentrate its weak forces for the defence of Livonia and Sweden proper; but Charles XII., writing from Bender, rejected it as an unwarrantable restriction upon his sovereignty and his plans, and thus involved his German provinces in the miseries of war.

After protracted negotiations, and by the employment of bribery, Charles at last induced the Porte to declare war on Russia (1711). The czar invaded Moldavia, but was completely surrounded on the Pruth by a great Turkish army under the grand-vizier, Baltadshi. Peter seemed

lost, but negotiations and bribery were tried on the grand-vizier with success. The result was the Peace of Hush, which, although very favorable to the Porte, was by no means such as might have been extorted from the Russians in their desperate situation. Azov was restored to Turkey, and thus Russia was again shut out from the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Peter further pledged himself to withdraw his troops from Poland, to interfere no more in Polish affairs, and to put no obstacle in the way of the Swedish king's return to his dominions.

Deceptive as the last promise was, Baltadschi, in insisting on it, meant to discharge honorably the Porte's obligations to its Swedish guest. In vain did Charles strive to annul this foolish treaty. He succeeded only in overthrowing Baltadshi. Twice did this minister's successor threaten Russia and Poland, but on both occasions the naval powers, who could ill afford to lose the Saxon auxiliary contingent, interposed to smooth matters over. For three and a half years Charles and his followers lived at the expense of the Porte, and gave no heed to the sultan's requests that he should leave. Finally, Achmet III. determined to rid himself of his troublesome guest by force. Although Charles entrenched his house at Bender and defended it with desperation against the Janizaries who assailed it, he was ultimately overpowered and carried to Adrianople. Here also he remained for a considerable time, but at last, after more than five years of fruitless residence in the Ottoman dominions, he took his departure in October, 1714, and, under an assumed name, hurried through Transylvania, Hungary, and Germany to Stralsund, the strongest fortress in Swedish Pomerania. Here he found the situation gloomy enough.

The czar, Peter, had, in 1712, appeared in Pomerania at the head of 40,000 Russians. The discreet General Steenbock, convinced of his inability to maintain himself there, had withdrawn to Mecklenburg, and there, in December, 1712, had defeated a much superior Danish force at Gadebusch. But the Russians and Saxons pressed him hard, and he entered the Danish portion of Holstein, where he barbarously burned down the defenceless city of Altona. Steenbock was soon hemmed in by his avenging foes and compelled to surrender with his whole army at Tönning, in May, 1713. Thus the German lands of the Baltic were harried until Prussia came to their relief.

The rule of Frederick I. had become more and more harmful for Prussia. In accordance with his promise as crown-prince he had restored to the emperor the circle of Schwiebus, the all too meagre equivalent received by his father for his claims to the three Silesian duchies. Unworthy favorites ruled his court. With such examples in

high places a system of unscrupulous corruption pervaded the administration. The people groaned under the weight of taxation. It fared no better with his foreign policy. The 25,000 Prussians who fought, year in, year out, for the Grand Alliance Frederick had managed so to scatter among the various theatres of war that they were nowhere able to demonstrate their power and real value. William III. had left by will to a distant Nassau relative the rich Orange inheritance, which he had once promised to the Prussian ruler. The principality of Orange proper, an *enclave* in French territory, Louis XIV. had taken. Only Neuchâtel, which was also a part of the inheritance, did Frederick secure in 1707, because the estates of the little principality preferred him to all other candidates. The possessions of the house of Orange within the territory of the empire—the counties of Mörs and Lingén—the States-General of the United Netherlands occupied by a garrison till 1712, when it was driven out by Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau and replaced by a Prussian one.

While placing at the disposal of the emperor the number of auxiliaries demanded by his treaty-obligations and the laws of the empire, but no more, Frederick should have brought his main strength to bear in the affairs of the north and east; for by expelling the Swedes from Germany, by holding the Russians in check, and by acquiring Polish West Prussia he would have done more for the German cause than by helping Austria to win Belgium and Italy. But this, the only sensible policy, Frederick did not adopt, and so he missed the many opportunities offered by the vicissitudes of the Northern War for authoritative intervention and the aggrandizement of Prussia.

But Frederick I. died on February 23, 1713, and under his hitherto little-regarded son, Frederick William I. (Fig. 82), a reaction of the most healthy kind set in in all relations. This prince was of a straightforward, honorable, God-fearing disposition, devoted body and soul to the discharge of his duties to the state, but hard and stern and of narrow views. He at once dismissed his father's chamberlains, artists, and skilled artisans, and met the expenses of his household with from 10,000 to 11,000 thalers yearly. The many hundred thousand thalers thus saved he spent on his army, which in the first year of his reign he increased by seven regiments, and, through harsh discipline, under exclusively noble officers, he brought it to absolute obedience and unheard-of efficiency.

The new king immediately joined in concluding the Peace of Utrecht, and refused any further support to the emperor in continuing the war, beyond what his obligations to the empire imposed. His forces, thus

placed at his own disposal, he destined for the delivery of the Baltic coast from the yoke of the foreigner and for the conquest of a part of Hither Pomerania. The opportunity for intervening in northern affairs



FIG. 82.—Frederick William I., King of Prussia. After an engraving by M. Bernigeroth.

was presented when Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, heir-presumptive to the Swedish throne, in Sweden's dire distress asked Prussia to sequesterate, in united action with Holstein troops, the for-

tresses of Hither Pomerania, in order to protect them against the attacks of the northern allies. In the Treaty of Gottorp (June, 1713) Prussia granted this request, on condition that the sequestration should remain in force till she was indemnified for the expenses which she would incur. The Swedish commander of Stettin, besieged by the Russians, was glad to give up this important commercial town on condition that it should be entrusted to neutral troops. In the Compact of Schwedt (October, 1713), Prussia undertook to pay the 400,000 thalers, which the Russians and Poles claimed as the costs of the siege of Stettin, and received in return a guarantee that she should not be required to restore Stettin till this sum was repaid. Pomerania was declared neutral. A Prussian army threatened to help the Duke of Holstein against the Danes, whereupon the latter restored to him his land.

But Charles XII. sent from Turkey his rejection of the Compact of Schwedt, whereupon the Duke of Holstein, who would not break with Sweden, deserted Prussia. The northern allies were indignant at this latter country for having wrested from them Hither Pomerania. Meanwhile the czar had subjugated all Finland, and was thus the more dangerous with his numerous troops. Under such circumstances it was incumbent on Frederick William to ally himself with one side or the other, if he was not to be treated as a foe by all. In view of the ingratitude of Holstein and Sweden, he concluded in June, 1714, a treaty with Russia, which guaranteed the eastern part of Hither Pomerania, with Stettin, to Prussia, and Karelia, Ingermanland, Esthonia, and Livonia to Russia. Hanover shortly after acceded to this treaty for the former Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden, which it had bought from the Danes. Its accession was of all the more consequence for the northern allies as its elector at that time mounted the throne of England.

England had come out of the great war with an enormous debt. But, to the astonishment of its contemporaries, this burden had little effect in checking the growing prosperity of the nation. Nevertheless, the country population was indignant against the Whigs, who had brought such a burden upon the state. Therefore the new elections in 1713 again returned a strong majority for the Tories. For this reason Anne, Bolingbroke, and Mrs. Masham felt encouraged in their Jacobite plans. All the more important offices were filled with adherents of the Stuarts. Negotiations had been going on with Louis XIV. since 1711. Without doubt James III. would have been recognized as heir to the throne, if he had conformed to the English Established church. The so-called Schism Act forbade anyone to give public or private instruction in England save members of the state church. Already before this, Dissenters

—the most devoted adherents of the Whig party—had been excluded from all offices of state. No less in the interest of the intolerant Tories was the bill which made eligibility to the Lower House conditional on the ownership of considerable landed property. The flood-tide of Jacobitism rose so high that even the Earl of Oxford became restive and fell out with Bolingbroke. The consequence was that he was dismissed in July, 1714, and the office of lord high treasurer, and with it the premiership, fell to Bolingbroke, the unconditional partisan of the Pretender.

But suddenly all the hopes of the Jacobites were blighted. Anne was stricken with apoplexy, and died on August 1, 1714. Her preparations for the *coup d'état* were incomplete. The Tories constituted undoubtedly the majority of the English people, but the fact that James III. refused to renounce the Catholic faith had completely split up and disorganized the party. The Whig aristocracy, on the other hand, had made their preparations with the utmost energy. They had the support of the great cities, and the law was on their side. The Act of Settlement, which had been passed by a Tory Parliament toward the close of the reign of William III. (1701), had provided that, upon the death of the Princess (later Queen) Anne without descendants, the crown should pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover—a granddaughter¹ of King James I.—and her descendants. Sophia died before Anne, and her son, George, Elector of Hanover, now became King of Great Britain and Ireland. Bolingbroke had neither the courage nor the means to prevent the proclamation of George I. The new king put an end to the whole clamor by dismissing Bolingbroke, appointing a Whig ministry, and, finally, in September, landing in England amid the jubilations of the people.

George I. was a harsh, heartless, dull, selfish, and dissolute prince. He understood too little of the English speech and constitution to exercise any influence of consequence on England's destiny. He left the government to the Whigs, who had a majority in the new Parliament, and whose leader, Lord Townshend, soon began a persecution of the Jacobites. Bolingbroke escaped an impeachment for high treason by flight to France (1715), and thus suffered just punishment for his faithless conduct at the time of the Peace of Utrecht.

Roused to madness by these measures, the extreme Tories in Scotland and the north of England raised the banner of rebellion, but were completely discomfited in a few months. The Pretender, who had

¹ Sophia was the daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. and wife of the Elector Palatine Frederick V., the "Winter King."

appeared in Scotland, was compelled in a few days to take ship for France, while his most eminent adherents paid with their lives for their loyalty to his cause.

Because of the new dignity and power which he now enjoyed, George's adhesion to the coalition which united against hard-pressed Sweden became all the more important. But at this juncture Charles XII. arrived at Stralsund, and was received with all the jubilations due to a hero. All looked to him for the return of happier and more glorious times. He impeached his council of state, rejected the hands of Prussia and Poland, which were held out to him in peace, and, by setting on foot a system of privateering against all foreign shipping in the Baltic, he embroiled himself with England and Holland, whose men-of-war now co-operated with those of Denmark and Russia against the Swedish fleet. Without previous warning, he caused the Prussian garrisons in Usedom and Wolgast to be surprised and driven out. Frederick William at once gave orders to disarm the Holstein troops in Stettin and to substitute there Prussian rule for Swedish (1715). With a far superior force, Prussians, Saxons, and Danes shut in the King of Sweden himself at Stralsund. Although he held the adjacent island of Rügen, he was unable to prevent Leopold of Dessau from landing on it with an allied corps, and finally, after a disastrous defeat, Charles had to evacuate it. Stralsund was now no longer tenable, and, after the king had left the town, it was surrendered to Prussia and Denmark at the end of 1715. A few months afterward Wismar, the last Swedish possession in Germany, fell into the hands of the allies. Meantime the Russians ravaged the coast of Sweden.

Driven by necessity, Charles made his appearance, after an absence of fifteen years, in Sweden, where everyone was now thoroughly undeceived about him. Nevertheless, he persisted in his warlike schemes. Oppressive taxes and forced loans were imposed on the people, and worthless money was coined and printed.

But all these prodigious efforts were unavailing against the superior force of the powers which were banded against Sweden, and at last Charles himself was killed by a ball near the Norwegian town of Frederikshald (December 11, 1718).

After the death of Charles, all the long-suppressed resentment of his afflicted people against monarchical absolutism broke out. The hastily summoned diet converted Sweden into an elective monarchy, in which the power was again vested in the council of state—that is, in the remaining families of the high nobility. This new government hastened (1719) to conclude treaties of peace at any price with the hostile powers. The last

and most important was that negotiated with Russia at Nystadt in 1721. Of all her possessions on the mainland Sweden recovered only desolated Finland, and the western portion of Hither Pomerania, with Stralsund. The duchies of Bremen and Verden became Hanoverian; the eastern part of Hither Pomerania, with Stettin and the mouths of the Oder (1720), Prussian; but all the so-called Baltic provinces became Russian. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp lost his possessions in Schleswig, whose hitherto divided portions were now united into a separate duchy under the King of Denmark.

Through this struggle and its issue, Sweden lost forever its position as a great power; Russia, on the other hand, had acquired the ascendancy in the east and north of Europe. Poland, above all, felt the heavy hand of the czar.

This unfortunate kingdom, which had been restored to Augustus II., came out of the Northern War still more enfeebled than Sweden. Every diet was broken up by the *liberum veto*; and almost every year there arose in some part of the republic a "confederation"—that is, the revolt of the nobles which was permissible by law. By a decision of the diet of 1717 all dissenters—i. e., non-Catholics—were shut out from public offices. Under the guise of friendship, the czar established himself more and more firmly on the soil of Poland, which his armies never again left. In the Polish diet a considerable Russian party was paid with Russian gold.

The entire ruin of Sweden and Poland and the elevation of Russia to be the sole great power in the north were the momentous results of the war unchained by Charles XII. But a state was already rising into prominence that was destined to set bounds to Russian despotism, and to take its place by Russia's side as in every way her equal. This was young Prussia. She, too, was indebted to the Northern War for the possibility of free development on the Baltic.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF LOUIS XIV.

AMID the deafening clash of arms that filled the air of Europe in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the intellectual battles had not ceased. With true instinct Louis XIV. recognized in the new ideas the most dangerous foes of absolute monarchy, which was the friend of priests and nobles, and of which he was the representative. For this reason he had in his last years allied himself with the powers of the past, and especially with the papacy, against which he had previously contended with such bitterness. Clement XI. recognized the conversion, and overwhelmed the king with eulogies, and was even wont to submit to him the ecclesiastical measures contemplated by the Vatican, that Louis might express his opinion in regard to them. The influence of Maintenon strengthened the ecclesiastical tendency of the court.

It was extremely distasteful to the king that Jansenism, which he believed annihilated, raised its head anew; that even Cardinal de Noailles, whom Madame de Maintenon had made Archbishop of Paris, in the hope of finding in him an effective instrument against all heresy, showed culpable lukewarmness; and that forty doctors of the Sorbonne declared themselves satisfied with the "respectful silence"—i. e., the passive resistance—of the Jansenists. This seemed to him all the more dangerous, because in Holland, under the aegis of religious freedom, a regular Jansenist church had grown up about the Archbishop of Utrecht. Louis was from the beginning resolved to permit nothing of this kind in France, but to hand down the unity of the faith and of the church unimpaired to his successor. The matter had now a greater importance than ever, for the political opposition identified itself more and more with the religious, and the two united were evidently gaining ground among the *bourgeoisie* of the greater cities. The king, therefore, procured from his friend Clement XI. the bull *Vincam Domini* (July, 1705), which renewed all the earlier papal decisions against Jansenism. Louis succeeded in having this bull recognized by all the French clergy and by the Parlements, as a religious law. Only the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs—a daughter convent of the Parisian Port-Royal—were bold enough to

hold fast to the teaching of their predecessors and their earlier spiritual advisers. But in October, 1709, a lieutenant of police appeared at Port-Royal and conveyed the aged, and for the most part sickly, nuns to other convents. Even the dead were exhumed and interred elsewhere, and the building was leveled with the ground.

After this easily-won victory the ultramontanes attacked Cardinal de Noailles himself, whose tolerance of Jansenism they could not forgive. Two obscure bishops, obviously instigated by the Jesuits, suddenly, in 1711, published pastoral letters, in which they condemned with all the zeal of bigots Father Quesnel's "Moral Reflections on the New Testament," a book which had appeared fifteen years before with the recommendation of Noailles (then Bishop of Châlons). Noailles, conscious of his good intentions and his irreproachable life, replied by condemning both bishops, an act which was clearly *ultra vires*. Moreover, he withdrew from the Jesuits in his diocese the permission to hear confessions, and even entered with the king a complaint against the king's confessor, the fanatical Jesuit Le Tellier. In this fight Noailles was the representative of episcopal independence in its struggle against the yoke which the crown in conjunction with the papacy was trying to impose on the French church.

All the more eagerly did Louis take part against the archbishop, and, when the latter boldly resisted his decrees, addressed himself to Rome, of whose answer he had no doubt. With zeal the Vatican took up the cause, which was also its own, in order to give the finishing blow to Jansenism. In September, 1713, Clement issued the bull *Unigenitus*, in which no less than a hundred and seven passages in Quesnel's book were condemned, and the Jansenist doctrine of grace, the free interpretation of Scripture, and every right of private judgment as against papal decrees were most emphatically rejected.

The bull *Unigenitus* appeared to the monarch, ruled and hoodwinked by confessors and female devotees, to be as great a victory for monarchy as for Jesuitry and ultramontaniam. Noailles humbled himself in this question as Fénelon had previously done in regard to Quietism. Had the church party let the matter end here, it would have finally subdued its opponents; but, by pushing its advantage too far, it called forth renewed resistance. The bull was to be formally accepted by the church assemblies and the Parlements. With some limitations the Parlement of Paris did indeed give its assent to it, as did forty of the fifty-one assembled bishops (February, 1714). But at the assembly of the bishops nine, with Cardinal de Noailles at their head, protested, and appealed to the pope when he should be better instructed. Noailles and the

Archbishop of Tours even went so far as to forbid the clergy of their dioceses to accept or promulgate the bull.

The king regarded this proceeding of the cardinal as an act of insubordination. Noailles would probably have stood alone, had not the Jesuits' cruel spirit of persecution prejudiced all the world against them and their party. Their intolerance in regard to Protestants was still more terrible. If one were caught, even in the transmarine colonies, he was sent without mercy to the galleys. For thirty years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the special duty of the police was to ferret out people suspected of "wicked" religious principles, and to persecute, imprison, and torture them. No wonder that this fanatical tyranny turned the sentiment of the cultured classes in favor of individual freedom and resistance to the allied party of despotism and Jesuitism. Fénelon here as ever was on the side of oppression and intolerance. Shortly before his death, which occurred on January 7, 1715, he urged on the king to the relentless prosecution of Noailles, who ought, in his opinion, to be condemned by a national council; and, in point of fact, Louis besought the pope to summon such a council.

But the Vatican would hear nothing of this. The mere thought of an assembly representing a national church, and especially the French, which had so often resisted the pope, was hateful to it. This refusal embarrassed Louis not a little. Thrown back on his own personal authority, he wished to compel the Parlement of Paris to register the bull *Unigenitus* without any limitations, and to decree prosecution against every bishop who did not accept it unconditionally. But this body, so compliant hitherto, now refused to carry out the will of the king. Submission had reached its end. For a long time Louis had succeeded in enforcing religious uniformity on his people. Now opposition arose from that very episcopate in which he hoped to find the surest and most efficient tools for his ecclesiastical dictatorship.

In 1713 the publication of the "Church News" began—a satirical sheet of extreme violence, printed in such impenetrable secrecy as to baffle the efforts of the police, and read with avidity all over the land. Revolution was in the air throughout all France. Even the king's nephew, Philip of Orleans, had no scruple in giving utterance to his skeptical views regarding religion.

The literature of the great reign gradually declined. It was destined to give way before that of the eighteenth century, which, deriving its inspiration from England, took up and carried on the old war of this nation against Louis XIV. and his system after his death. In the domain of poetry there prevailed, up to this time, only decadence.

Boileau's successor was Jean Baptiste Rousseau, a clever versifier, but no true poet. Crébillon was the heir to Racine. He, in the utter lack of true poetic or dramatic endowments, had recourse to the rude expedients of sensational, terror-inspiring motives and the most violent passions and effects, with which mawkish amours formed an unpleasant contrast. The age of classicism, of the stiff and formal ideal of Louis XIV., was over; that of Montesquieu and Voltaire was coming in.

Louis's nine and twenty years of war had cost France some 1,200,000 human lives and 1500 millions of livres. Such expenditure had at last exhausted even the rich resources of this land. To recruit the armies, recourse was had to the long-antiquated summons of the nobles to feudal service. The finances were in utter disorder. At the close of the war the national debt amounted to 2382 millions of livres, of the payment of which there was at that time not the slightest prospect, and yet half of it was a floating debt, which the creditors could call in at any time. Without the least regard to national honor, measures were adopted that amounted not only to partial bankruptcy but to actual fraud. All who, in patriotic response to a royal call, had paid the poll-tax six years in advance were forced to pay it over again. From the clergy twelve millions, from the farmers-general nine millions, were wrested by open violence. But all these and other similar expedients were only palliatives. This financial disorder was a matter of high political import. Begun by the wars of Louis XIV., the chronic and therefore ever-growing deficit was the main factor in undermining the royal administration, and, ultimately, when it had paralyzed this, in bringing revolution on the political stage.

The worse the financial situation, the more eager was the aged king for the preservation of peace. With his old adversary, the court of Vienna, he sought to put himself on a good footing by appealing to their common interest in Catholicism. But the restoration of friendly relations between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg was impeded by the Spanish sentiments and surroundings of the emperor. Like Charles V., Charles VI. was rather a Spaniard on a German throne than a German. The independent bearing of the prince-like nobles of Germany was distasteful to him. Besides, he still cherished the secret hope of yet uniting all the lands of Charles V. under his sceptre. Spaniards, therefore, were laden with riches and honors; he even constituted a Spanish council for the administration of the formerly Spanish provinces which had fallen to him. When we consider the abhorrence in which the Spanish yoke had for centuries been held in Italy, it is easy

to comprehend that this arrangement made a most unfavorable impression on public opinion in the newly-acquired provinces.

In vain did Prince Eugene oppose this incapable, plundering *camarilla*; the result was that he was deprived of his office as governor of Milan. Only in one point was he successful. In spite of the hatred of the Bourbons, which filled the hearts of the emperor's Spanish counselors, Eugene gradually brought about better relations between Austria and France, which were to have favorable consequences for the emperor. For danger threatened the latter from Spain.

In February, 1714, King Philip V. lost his wife, Maria Louisa of Savoy, whom he tenderly loved and whose counsel he used to follow. In his deep grief he would see no one but the Princess Orsini, the motherly friend of the deceased queen. She practically conducted the government of Spain, and that, too, in the energetic, intelligent way which always distinguished her. She reorganized the utterly disordered financial system and placed it on so sound a basis that a new economic epoch dawned for Spain, and that state developed a strength such as it had not known for a century. In this work she was assisted by the Marquis of Orry. The great question for her was the choice of a new wife for the king. Her aim was, above all, to select the daughter of a petty prince, who would be indebted only to her for her position and could not rely on the influence of her native land. A hint from the Abbé Alberoni, the sly agent of the Duke of Parma in Madrid, was enough to direct her attention to a princess of the house of Farnese, which reigned in Parma, and, in September, 1714, the marriage was celebrated. But the character of Elizabeth Farnese confounded all the calculations of the Princess Orsini. The young queen had insatiable ambition and desire for power, and she employed the influence over the weak king that her stronger character gave her to overthrow the princess and to send her in disgrace across the frontier. In Spain Queen Elizabeth and her confidant Alberoni were all-powerful, and they set for themselves no less a task than that of winning back for Spain the provinces which she had lost by the Peace of Utrecht. They even contemplated the resubjugation of Portugal. But Louis XIV. was determined to oppose such an enterprise and even entered into friendly relations with Portugal to defend her against Spanish ambition.

In like manner he lent a deaf ear to all proposals that he should promote a landing of the Jacobites in Britain after the death of Queen Anne, and devoted himself all the more earnestly to the care of his colonies, from which he looked for great benefits to his impoverished kingdom. Pondicherry, the chief French settlement in the East Indies,

flourished gratifyingly under his protection. Of still more importance were the French settlements in North America, which extended from Canada to the Mississippi and down that river through Louisiana to Texas and Florida. In extent they far surpassed the colonies of England on the Atlantic coast of North America, and formed a barrier to their expansion toward the West.

The indefatigable energy of the gray-haired monarch is all the more noteworthy, because he was now tried by new family troubles and heavy sorrow. His third grandson, the Duke of Berry, died in May, 1714, and thus there were left but two candidates for the regency during the prospective minority of the dauphin—Philip V. of Spain, and Philip, Duke of Orleans. The former, who, as uncle of the dauphin, was the nearer of kin, was cut off from all connection with the crown of France by the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht. Thus only Orleans was left, and him Louis unwillingly entrusted with the regency and the education of the dauphin. He was not clear from the suspicion of having poisoned many royal princes, who stood between him and the throne, and his character was repulsive to the aged ruler. He was a free-thinker without respect for the church or the royal dignity, and he openly paraded his debaucheries. Owing to the rivalry for the regency, he was the deadly enemy of the King of Spain. All that Louis had worked for during his long life was likely to be undone by the future regent.

And yet Louis had no other choice. To reduce the danger to a minimum he executed a testament, on August 2, 1714, which constituted a council of regency consisting of the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, his two natural sons, five marshals, and five ministers. This council was to be invested with full royal authority, and Orleans had no special prerogative save that of possessing the casting vote when the members of the council were divided equally in opinion. The bringing up and guardianship of the future king while a minor was entrusted to the Duke of Maine, the king's favorite natural son, and all the officers of the guards were to take their orders from him alone. But the numerous political and ecclesiastical opposition at the court and in the Parlement were from the first resolved to pay no regard to this testament. The question here was not a personal one, but one of emancipation from the fetters of a crushing despotism. For this it was, above all, necessary that the clique which had ruled Louis in his old age—Maine, Maintenon, Le Tellier, Villeroi, the pietists and Jesuits—should be got out of the way.

Thus all was excitement and anxiety at court when in August, 1715, the king's strength failed visibly. On his bed of pain Louis showed the same tranquillity of mind that had distinguished him during all his life.

He was persuaded that he had conducted matters for the best, and that the continuance of his system was assured. He blessed the dauphin, and counseled him to be more of a friend of peace than he himself had been. In the king's last moments the characters of those about him were seen in their true light. In vain did he speak in the tenderest way to Maintenon; she exhorted him coolly not to think of her, but of God. When death seemed at hand she hurried to St.-Cyr, in order to ensure her own safety. Her pupil, the Duke of Maine, whom Louis had loaded with favors, felt not the least sympathy for the sufferings of his father, but reveled in the thought that within a few days the rule would be in his hands. On September 1, 1715, Louis XIV. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, the seventy-third of his nominal, and the fifty-fifth of his actual, reign.

The people of all classes hailed his death with joy. At that moment the spirit of servile subserviency to the ruling powers which characterized the seventeenth century vanished before the breath of a freer spirit. All the antagonistic forces, which Louis's frightful absolutism had held in check, started into powerful activity, and overthrew all he had founded. But not only did the system of Louis XIV. fall to pieces with one blow; all respect for his person vanished with his life. His courtiers, who had been wont to crowd around him in hundreds to attract, if possible, his favorable notice, left his mortal remains uncared for. His funeral was of the simplest sort, and the people of Paris, who believed themselves freed from an intolerable yoke, followed the coffin of the "Great King" not merely with invectives and curses, but with showers of filth and stones.

Such was the end of Louis XIV. Nowhere had he attained his object. The dominion over Europe, for which he had striven, and which he had exercised for a time with such rigor and violation of justice, had been wrested from his hands. He had seen his numerous armies defeated, his proud marshals humbled, his cuirass of impregnable fortresses broken through. No longer had he dictated terms to his foes, but they to him. Against his will the Hanoverians had fixed themselves in Britain, and the German Hapsburgs had established themselves in Italy. Against his will Sweden, the ally of France, had been thrown down from its high position, and Russia, the ally of Austria, had been raised to power in the north. In England there had been developed an intellectual tendency and a literature which were destined to assail French monarchy on its own soil, and ultimately to dethrone it.

At home, too, Louis's policy had proved a failure, probably even more than abroad. In destroying the last remains of personal independ-

ence and self-reliance he had undermined the very monarchy which he had designed to aggrandize. The nobles, who had been the representatives of the warlike strength of the nation, he had converted into a herd of unscrupulous and low-minded courtiers, who sought to gratify their pride in the smile of the prince, their ambition in showy court offices, and their desire for action in profligate intrigues. The Parlements he had deprived of all consciousness of judicial independence and influence on legislation. On his people he looked down with a contempt which he could not conceal, and with cool, disdainful indifference he took from them their last penny and their last drop of blood. Against his royal omnipotence he recognized no right of person or property. The result was that he exasperated every class of the kingdom against himself and his system. Men no longer hated the king as an individual only; they hated monarchy, and this feeling, so fatal to the future of France, is to be ascribed to the rule of Louis XIV.

Louis's system had suffered shipwreck in ecclesiastical matters also, and called forth only reaction. Intellectual freedom, so long repressed, raised itself anew in the form of Jansenism.

A threatening pessimism pervaded the whole state. Right-minded men and men of intellectual eminence during the War of the Spanish Succession looked for redemption only from defeats. Even Fénelon exclaimed: "What can save us if we come out of this war without complete humiliation?"

How was it then that Louis acquired such a reputation and such great authority during his life, and continued to be the object of almost universal admiration for more than a century after his death?

Above all, we have to notice his lofty firmness of character, which enabled him through all the vicissitudes of politics and war to keep the same aims and plans in view, and to hold fast to purposes once adopted. And this not only in prosperity and the flood-tide of success, but in misfortune also, when he preferred to defy ruin itself rather than do anything unbecoming or ignominious. This firmness and thoughtful maintenance of his own and France's dignity did not remain without reward. To these qualities alone France was indebted for the preservation of Richelieu's and Mazarin's conquests—Alsace, Franche-Comté, and French Flanders. As he conceived the interests of the state to be concentrated in himself, so he held himself responsible for them. We must further do him the justice to acknowledge that he understood most excellently the business of kingcraft. A good judge of men, he chose his instruments, for war and peace alike, with unflinching precision. Even in his old age, when friendships of long standing often betrayed him into

errors, he discovered a Villars, a Vendôme, or a Berwick, and in so doing merited the gratitude of the nation. Besides all this, Louis was no inactive ruler. He labored most diligently in matters of administration and politics. We cannot refuse him credit for the great acquisitions made by France during his reign, for they are largely the results of his own intellectual toil. Under his rule the strongly monarchical and uniformly disciplined army was created, which for a century and a half defended and advanced the glory of France on the battlefields of all Europe. The constitution given to the navy during his rule is still, notwithstanding the great development of naval science, in force in his land. In the administration of the state the prime minister was no longer supreme over all the other ministers, but the chiefs of the several departments stood on an equal footing, finding their common and indispensable central point in the monarch, who, at any moment, could strip them of every vestige of power.

The dazzling and irresistible influence which this prince—at least in his most brilliant period—exercised on the best and most gifted of his people is proved by the fact that he could direct the tendencies of their creative genius for three decades. Right royal was it that Louis set his fame not alone on martial success and idle show, but also on the enduring basis of a higher development in literature and art. Even for French science, he originated those official institutions which rule it to the present day. It was precisely in such matters that he perpetuated his influence and the supremacy of the French spirit over Europe. The refinement and elegance which were indigenous in his palaces and the brilliant literature which developed under his patronage made France the centre and Paris the true capital of Europe. Much as France has to reproach Louis XIV. for, she has at least to thank him for the intellectual and social sway which for a century and a half she wielded over all the civilized world.

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